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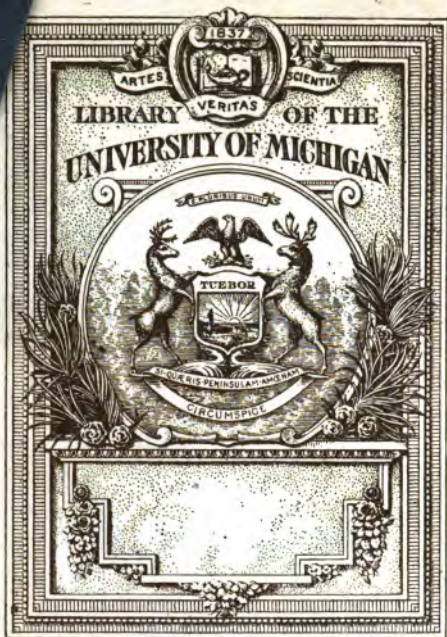
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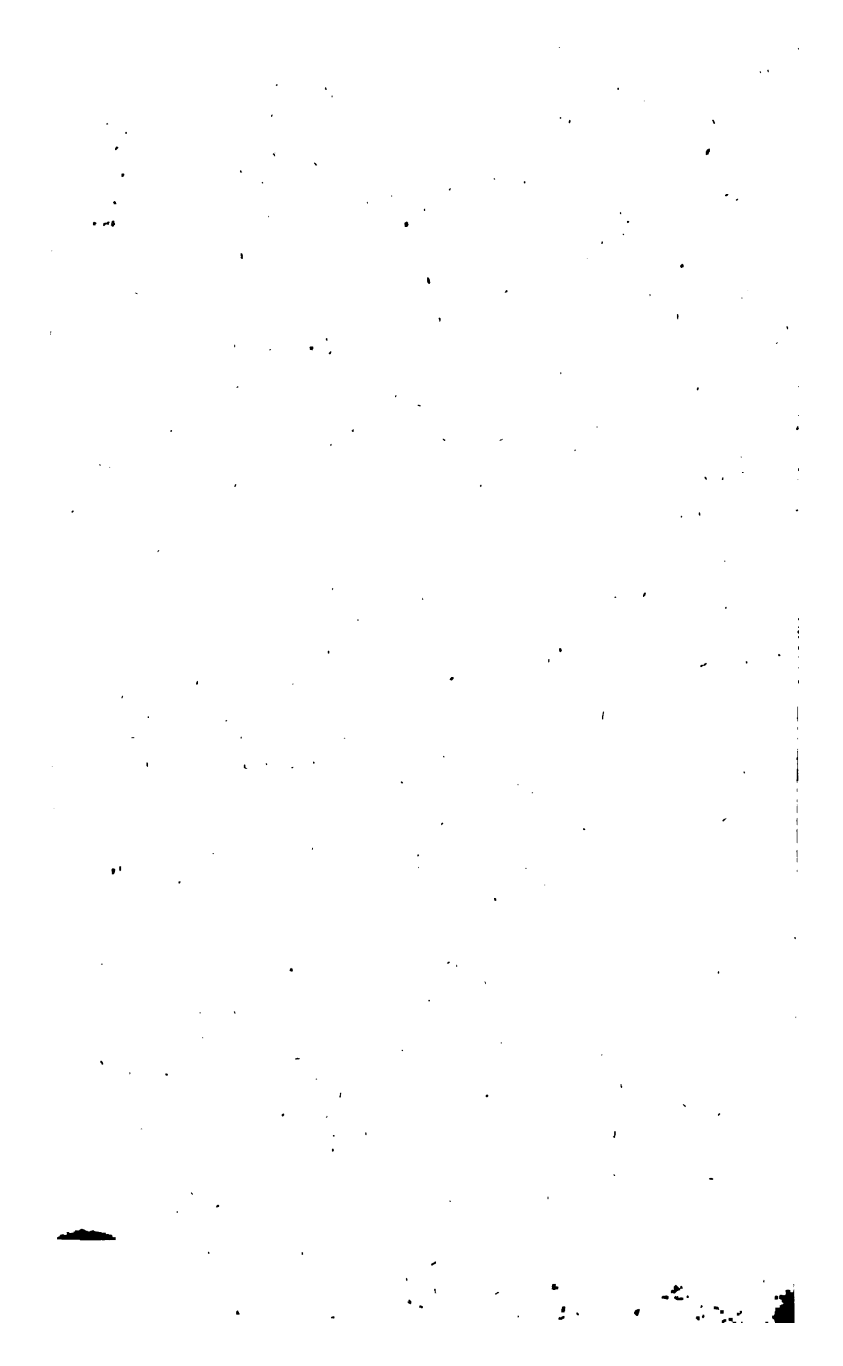
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LETTERS  
WRITTEN BY  
A TURKISH SPY,

*Who Lived Five-and-Forty Years Undiscovered at*

P A R I S;

Giving an Impartial Account to the Divan at Constantinople of  
the most Remarkable Transactions of Europe, and dis-  
covering several Intrigues and Secrets of the Chris-  
tian Courts, (especially of that of France) conti-  
nued from the Year 1667 to the Year 1682.

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*Written originally in Arabic, Translated into Italian, and from thence  
into English.*

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VOLUME SEVENTH.

A NEW EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR VERNOR & HOOD, J. CUTHELL, OGILVY  
& SON, LACKINGTON, ALLEN, & CO. J. WALKER,  
J. NUNN, R. LEA, AND OTRIDGE & SON,  
*By Mundell & Son, Edinburgh.*

1801.



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## TO THE READER.

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It is not to be expected that the world will take it for an excuse of the tedious delay that has been made in publishing the seventh volume of the Turkish Spy, to say that our Arabian now grows old and decrepid, is forced to walk with a staff or crutch, as he himself confesses in one of the following letters, and is besides worn out with sickness and care, so that he cannot be so expeditious in business as he was in his youth. It may be said this apology would be more proper for the English translator to make, were he in the same condition; but he is in his prime, in the flower of his age, vigorous, and active; and therefore might have made more haste, they will say, to oblige the world, and gratify the expectations of those gentlemen who perpetually dun the booksellers for the rest of his Mahometan letters.

It were easy to answer this, by only putting you in mind, that he who undertakes to lead a slow-footed, short-winded, and weak person by the hand, and conduct him to his journey's end, must of necessity keep the same pace with his charge, though he himself were as swift as a stag when alone and at liberty; besides that, a man is apt to attract a con-

tagion from the company he keeps, and turn their ill qualities into habits of his own.

But all this is trifling, and our English translator is under none of these circumstances. To come to the purpose, therefore, gentlemen, you will commend our translator's wisdom for not being in such post-haste at this juncture, when you reflect, that like a wise racer, though he gave a start in the beginning at first setting out, yet he soon slackened his pace, that he might make sure of the goal, remembering the old English proverb, "The more haste the worse speed." Thus he suffered three years to slide by him before he reached the second stage (2d vol.); and though he began to take up his heels more nimbly afterwards, so as to recover by degrees his lost time and ground, yet still he did but moderately jog on, now springing, then halting, as occasion offered, and as he found his strength could hold; at length, having but two stages more, wonder not that he is a little more tedious than ordinary in this; for he does it to refresh himself, and keep his breath for the last strain of all, which brings the prize, observing herein the old adage, "Finis coronat opus."

As to the letters contained in this seventh volume, there is little to be said more particular than of those that have gone before; they in general contain a miscellany of historical transactions, moral and philosophical thoughts, interspersed here and there with Mahometan politics and divinity.

Only you will find our Arabian engaged with a certain Jew at Vienna, in fomenting the discords of the German empire, encouraging the rebels of Hun-

gary, Croatia, and mutinous provinces: You will hear of the deaths of Count Serini, Frangipani, and Nadaſti, who were all beheaded for being ringleaders in this rebellion.

The next and laſt volume has this of ſingular in it, that it will preſent you with the riſe and preferment of Count Tekeli, who has made ſo much noiſe in the world; it relates many of his public actions, and not a few of his ſecret intrigues; in ſine, it diſcovers the train that was laid to blow up all Europe into the flame of open war and univerſal hoſtility, which to this day conſumes the lives and eſtates of ſo many thouſand Chriſtians, impoveriſhes and lays waſte whole nations, and, it is to be feared, will end in letting in the Turks once more upon us, to our final ruin and confuſion, ſince thoſe infidels never take greater advantage to invade and conquer the dominions of Chriſtians, than when they find us involved in domeſtic wars with one another.

1947

A. R. JONES

**THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO**

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1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

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the fact that the *in vitro* and *in vivo* results are in good agreement. The *in vivo* results are in good agreement with the *in vitro* results, which are in good agreement with the *in vivo* results.

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# LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

## A SPY AT PARIS.

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### BOOK I.

LETTER I.—*MAHMUT the Arabian at Paris, to  
MIRMADOLIN, Holy Santone of the Vale of Sidon.*

WHY was I made a man, to endure these cruel agonies, of which no other species of known beings can possibly be capable? or why at least was I particularly formed of such a constitution, as to attract the evils which are scattered up and down the world, and piece-meal dropped on the nativities of other mortal men; whilst I alone am made the common sink of human misery? Surely my partial horoscope monopolised the most envenomed aspects of the stars, without partaking of the least benign and favourable glance; the planets had laid up an ancient deep reserve of fatal influences, which they poured out at large upon the very moment of my birth; nor could the careful midwife, with all her skill and charms, defend my tender, ductile, reeking body, from the invincible cataracts which flowed upon me from all the envious signs and constellations in heaven.

*Vol. VII.*

A

My whole life has been but one continued tragedy, wherein the various change of scenes has not relieved me from the least real evil hid behind, but only amused my sense with some new pageantry, some fair idea of honour, pleasure, or profit; when before the act was done, I found myself cajoled, overwhelmed in fresh calamities, misfortunes which I never dreamed of.

Oh! that the Omnipotent, when from eternal silent thought he drew the ideas of every species, and every individual being, which he designed for actual existence in the world, had formed me for a tree, an herb, a blade of grass, a stone, a mushroom, or any insensible thing, incapable of pleasure or pain, of grief or joy, or other passions, which hourly thus torment our human race! I had been then a happy neuter to all false shows of happiness, and real sense of misery. Oh! that I had been an oak, a beech, a palm, or cypress of the forest; for then, if vegetables have any feeling of their own state, I should be only touched with secret pleasure, when the gentle winds should play among my amorous branches, and teach my wanton leaves to dance the measures of young harmless love; or when I felt the seasonable rain distilling on my withered bark, and from thence sliding to my thirsty roots; or when great Phœbus prints warm vigorous kisses on my cheeks and neck. But if this be too proud a thought, I wish I had been only some humble shrub, some pigmy plant, some vegetable dwarf, a page unto the mighty trees, subsisting on the drops and fragments of their large banquets, meekly cringing at their feet, whilst I stood safe and free from storms, under the shade of their extended boughs, in happy low obscurity.

When I pass through the fields, and see the harmless sheep browsing upon the tender grass, and hear them

bleating to their wanton lambs, I cannot choose but envy them a life so void of care and pain; they range and sport at large in flowery meadows, near some crystal stream, or take the pastures of the mountains, whilst cheerful shepherds tune their pipes, and sing in praise of Amaryllis, Daphne, Sylvia, or some other nymph, and watchful dogs lie scouting on the plain, to give the alarm, and chase away fly wolves, and other ravenous beasts.

After I have let my envy fix itself a while on these, a warbling melody from neighbouring groves diverts my melancholy thoughts, and turns them to new objects; then I lament my fate, in that I was not made a nightingale, a thrush, a lark, or any of the feathered choir, who with sweet cheerful notes salute Aurora and the rising sun, and chirp all day the praises of that source of warmth and life, who vests the earth in green attire, who decks the trees with verdant leaves, and fills the world with light. They chirp and fly from tree to tree, from bough to bough, rejoicing in the beams that dart and glide among the moving shades of branches rocked by winds; their thoughts are taken up in building nests, wherein to hatch their young, and shelter them from injuries; they have no plots nor politic tricks to undermine each other, but pass away their time in innocent security and harmless pleasures.

Methinks the worms and little reptiles of the earth are happier far than I; they crawl and creep about in hollow trees, in clefts of rocks and crannies of the ground, to hunt for food and for divertisement; they live at ease without being racked by supernumerary cares and fears; and if some ruder foot of man or beast shall trample them by chance to death, or more malicious hand, with stone or other weapon, shall wilfully bereave them of their

life, it is done so suddenly that they have no sense of pain, whereas my life is a constant martyrdom, a long continued series of torments.

I do not complain of the distempers and maladies which afflict my body, though those are sometimes so violent as to make me wish for death, that so I might be at ease; but it is the fretting anguish of my mind that forces all these sighs and exclamations from me; I am embarrassed in the world, snares compass me round about; my own good nature has betrayed me; those of my blood conspire against me; they hunt me up and down like a partridge in the wood; they closely pursue my life: The kindnesses that I have sown spring up in blades of bitter ingratitude and perfidy: My seminaries bring forth aconite and stinking weeds, instead of pleasant flowers and wholesome fruits: Tagot has set his foot in all my works; that sly interloping spirit hates to see any good thing prosper, or come to perfection; he steals behind us in all our ways; and as fast as we weave any web of virtue, he secretly unravels it, or deforms the work with intermixing some threads of vice. I am weary of striving against the current of my fate. Oh that I were as though I had never been! that my soul were drenched in Lethe's forgetful waters, where all past things are buried in eternal oblivion! Then would my anguish be at an end, whereas I am now rolled about upon a wheel of miseries.

Holy Santone, when thou shalt read this, pity me; and amidst thy divine ejaculations, dart up Mahmut's soul to paradise, on the point of a strong thought, that so at least I may have a moment's respite from my constant sadness.

Paris, 27th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1667.

II.—*To the KAÏMACHAM.*

THERE is now some probability of a peace between the English and the Dutch, which will also reconcile this crown to that of Great Britain, since the King of France engaged in this war only on the account of the Dutch his allies. The advances towards this accommodation took their rise from the alliance lately concluded between the States of the United Provinces, the King of Denmark, the Duke of Brandenburg, and the Princes of Brunfwick. The King of England protests against the Dutch as the first aggressors, in that they had taken above two hundred of his merchant ships before he offered the least act of hostility, which the States seeming to acknowledge, desire the king to appoint some neutral place of treaty with them and their allies, in order to a peace, the security of navigation, and the establishment of commerce for the future.

Here is great joy for the birth of a young princess, of whom the queen was delivered on the 2d of the moon of January: She is called God's New-Year's Gift to France, in regard the first day of that moon begins the year with the Christians; and it is common among them to send mutual gifts and presents to one another at that time, which they call New-Year's Gifts; and so it seems God Almighty has appeared very modish and complaisant, in thus timing the nativity of the royal babe, for which they express their thanks in revelling, dancing, ballads, and a thousand other vanities; and these divertisements continue to this time, it being the Nazarenes' carnival, a season consecrated to sport and mirth, to liberty, buffoonery, and all manner of comical and ridiculous apishness.

During this time, you shall see an infinite variety of odd humours and mimical actions in the open streets, accord-

ing to every man's particular fancy; here you shall meet with one dressed half in the French and half in the Spanish fashion; on the left side of his head hangs dangling down a long thick curled peruke, which reaches to his breast, whilst on the right you see nothing but his own hair, cropped close to his ears; a long mustash, as black as jet, graces the right side of his upper lip, whilst on the left he is beardless as a boy of seven years old; and so from head to foot he wears two contrary garbs: One walks about with gloves upon his feet, and shoes upon his hands; another wears his breeches like a mantle on his shoulders; here comes a stately coach, jogging along with grave slow pace, and drawn by six fair horses, as if some prince or cardinal were in it, when behold there is nothing but a silly ass puts forth his giddy head with flapping ears, half drunk with the jolting unaccustomed motion; sometimes he brays aloud, and then the rabble fall a-laughing. A thousand other sopperies there are not worth thy knowledge; for both the noble and the vulgar are all upon the frolic at this time, and indulge their wanton fancies to the height. But it is a fatal season for the poor cats, few of which escape the multitude, whose peculiar pastime it is to toss these creatures in a blanket till they are dead, or else to tie them two and two together by the tails, and then they will bite and scratch one another to death. The cocks also are generally great martyrs during the carnival; the rabble have an hundred cruel ways to murder them in sport. All their devices are inhuman and bloody. They did not learn these profane courses from Jesus, or any of the prophets or apostles of God; but they are the relics of Gentile vanity, in the beginning connived at by the priests, the easier to retain their profelytes in obedience, who would rather have parted with their new religion than with their old

barbarous customs; and thus the pagan fooleries were handed down to the posterity of the primitive Christians, and were adopted into the family of church traditions; and men are not more zealous for the gospel itself than for these ridiculous profanations of it; so dangerous a thing is it for governors, by a criminal indulgence, to permit their subjects any liberty which interferes with the fundamental principles of the law; for such a dispensation once granted, passes into a precedent, which in process of time becomes of equal force with the law itself; and by such preposterous methods of winning and retaining converts, Christianity arrived to the height of corruption it is now infected with.

Sage minister, it was for this reason God raised up our holy prophet, and gave him a new law, with power to reform and chastise the infidels: He planted the undefiled faith with scimitar in hand, not palliating or encouraging the smallest vicious practice, but subduing all things by the dint of reason, or the keen edge of the sword. God hasten his return, for the prevarications of this age require it.

Paris, 27th of the 2d Moon, of the year 1667.

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### III.—To DIGNET OGLOU.

I BELIEVE thou hast not forgot the observations we used to make on the religion of the Christians, when we were slaves together in Sicily: How ridiculous some of their practices appeared to us, and yet what a sanctity was manifest in others; how much we approved the majesty of their public worship, the solemnity of their high mass, the gravity of their processions; and yet how great was our disgust, when we considered that all these honours

were performed to figures and statues of stone, wood, silver, gold, or other materials, the creatures of the painter or carver !

We scanned their doctrines also, which we learned from their priests and books, and descanted variously on them, as they were more or less conform to the truth, and to the volume brought down from heaven. In a word, we praised the good, and censured what was evil in their faith and manners, or at least what we thought to be so ; for herein we followed the dictates of our education.

But now in our riper years, if we should call over our former thoughts, perhaps we should be of a different judgment, and find matter to condemn even in our own past censures ; for whatever we might then think of the Nazarenes, upon a maturer search, I cannot find them to be altogether such gross idolaters and infidels as we and all mussulmans are apt to believe.

That which gives me the greatest scandal is, that their doctors entertain some unwarrantable speculations about three substances in one essence, and are too venturesome in their thoughts concerning the eternal generation of the Word, and emanation of the Breath, by which they say all things were created, and are conserved in their beings. They teach a doctrine repugnant to the Alcoran, when they say that God has a companion equal to himself.

As to the incarnation of Jesus the Son of Mary, the Nazarenes assert nothing but what is suitable to the Alcoran, which teaches us that he is the word of God. In the history of his life, they indeed come short of the mussulmans, there being not the least mention made in the whole book of the gospel, of many passages in his infancy and tender years, wherewith the alcoran, with other holy books and traditions of the ancients, acquaint



the true believers. The messenger of God tells us, that Jesus spoke in his cradle, resolved doubts, cleared up mistakes, and preached the unity of the divine essence; other writings also inform us, that while he was young, he formed the figures of divers birds and beasts, of clay and his own spittle, and having breathed on them, they became living creatures, and prostrated themselves at his feet; they relate also that he made a pigeon, which flew up and down through divers regions, and brought him news of whatever was done in the courts of foreign princes; and that from the day of his birth to that of his translation, twelve angels waited on him, and brought him down food from paradise. Of these things the Christians are ignorant, and of many other passages; so that in the whole it is evident that the Mussulmans have a more particular relation of the life of Jesus than the Christians themselves have, since we recount those miracles and other actions of his whereof the gospel is silent.

But then, on the other side, they believe things concerning his death, whereof neither the Alcoran, nor any other of our writings or traditions make any mention, unless it be to confute the error of the Nazarenes in that point. I have heard the arguments of their learned doctors, and, comparing them with our objections, I know not well what to conclude.

They insist much on the public signs and wonders that fell out at that time of the supposed crucifixion of the Messiah, the rending of rocks, opening of graves, resurrection of many dead, and the preternatural eclipse of the sun, when the moon was in sight in the other part of the horizon in the same moment, which made a great philosopher, then in Egypt, cry out, "Either the frame of the world is dissolved, or the God of nature suffers."

They tell a story also of a certain ship, that was on that very day sailing in the Archipelago, and that as they passed by certain rocks, the mariners heard a voice calling, *Thamus, Thamus*, very often and loud. Now there being one of that name on board the vessel, he answered to his name, upon which the voice said, "When thou comest to the island of the *Palodes*, proclaim it aloud, that the great *Pan* is dead;" which he did accordingly, and there followed a horrible howling and roaring from the shore of that island. This passage was afterwards made known to the senate of Rome, who thereupon, at the instance of some noble Romans, sent to inquire in the provinces whether any remarkable person had died on that day; and they were informed, that the Jews had on the same day put to death *Jesus* the son of *Mary*; and *Tiberius* the emperor, on the credit of this passage, being also informed of the miracles which *Jesus* wrought among the Jews, conceiving an immediate veneration for so divine a person, caused his statue to be set up in the capitol, and would have had him numbered among the gods; but in this he was opposed by the senate, because they had before decreed that no new deities should be added to the calendar.

In these things I rely on the account which the Christians give of the death of *Jesus*, though they bring authorities also and testimonies of their very enemies, and inveterate persecutors, the Gentiles, who therefore, one would think, cannot be suspected of partiality. In a word, I know not what to think of these things; for if it be true that *Jesus* died on the cross for the sins of the world, as the Christians believe, and that there is no other way to be saved but by believing this, then in what a sad condition are all the Jews and muslimans, the one glorying in having murdered the Saviour of the world, and the other

not believing that he was murdered ? The first seem to merit most of men, since though the act was cruel in itself, yet according to this doctrine it brought salvation to all our race ; and therefore there were a sort of Christians in former times, who worshipped the serpent that tempted Eve, because, according to their faith, that temptation was the first step to mankind's happiness after Adam's fall ; and they placed Judas, who betrayed Jesus to the Jews, among the saints, for having been so particular an instrument in the world's redemption.

If Jesus be the Saviour of men, it is absolutely necessary to believe in him ; but whether he be or be not, the faith of the Christians in that point cannot hurt them, since our holy prophet himself has taught us that Christians shall be saved as well as the Mussulmans ; whereas the Christians say it is impossible for any to be saved who follow the law of Mahomet ; so that they have our own grant for their salvation, which they deny to us. This is a great advantage on their side in the controversy betwixt us.

For my part, I tell thee ingenuously, were I convinced that Jesus was the Son of God, and that he suffered death for the sake of men, I could readily embrace most of the other tenets of Christianity without scruple ; I should not be frightened at their invocation of saints, since it is the same as we ourselves practise, nor would their images and pictures startle my faith ; I should look upon these, and a thousand more, as things indifferent in themselves, and only made lawful or unlawful by the sanction of divine authority.

I should be most puzzled to know what church to fix in among so many, all pretending to the right way ; I have examined their different opinions, and find reason on something very like it, on all sides ; I admire the ab-

finence of the Greeks, Armenians, and generally of all the eastern Christians, yet their ignorance distastes me ; I honour the learning and politeness of the Roman church, and could almost veil to their pretensions of antiquity, universality, and incorrupt doctrine, but I am highly scandalised at their licentiousness, pride, and cruelty : There is much to be argued for the Coptis, Abyssines, Melchites, the Christians of St. John, and other churches, but more to be said against them. In fine, if I were to turn Christian, I should be in a wilderness, not knowing which path to take, for fear of missing the right.

In the state therefore wherein I am, I will think honourably of Jesus, as also of Mary his mother, who, at her daily return from the temple, found a thousand sorts of flowers in her oratory : I will not speak evil of any person that has the character of a saint, but in general will desire the intercession of all that are near to God ; it is ten to one if some of them do not vouchsafe to pray for me ; but whether they do or not, God hears me, and observes my devotion, and if he please my petitions shall be granted. As for the rest, I will endeavour in all things to do as I would be done to, keeping my conscience free from stain, so that I may die in peace ; and what becomes of me afterwards, it is in vain to be solicitous, since the decrees of fate are irreversible.

Tell me now, my friend, whether these thoughts and resolves be not more agreeable to humanity, than to be a furious bigot for I know not what ? Is that a commendable zeal for religion, which, under pretence of defending the truth, sticks not to assert a thousand lies ? or that a laudable charity for souls, which, in order to their salvation, takes infinite pains to set the world together by the ears, and embroil mankind in perpetual wars ? What else do these disturbers of human race, who, not content

with the limits which the fortune of their birth has set them, invade the peaceable possessions of their neighbours, commit all sorts of violences, rapines, and outrages, and all this under pretext of reforming the manners of men, introducing purity of religion, and fulfilling the will of Heaven? as if it were a mark of a divine commission to be barbarously unjust, perfidious, and savage, and that the height of piety consisted in shedding human blood!

For my part, I cannot approve of these practices, and therefore think it safer to stand aloof from all religions thus cruelly established, than by entering into their inhuman secrets, and swearing to their sanguine articles, incorporate myself with professed murderers, under the notion of being a good man.

Happy are those innocent nations in the East, who from their first progenitors have kept inviolate the law of nature, who have never defiled themselves with the blood of man or beasts, but every one contenting himself with his native home-stall, and the fruits of his own land, makes no encroachments on those that dwell near him, nor butchers the harmless animals to gratify his ill-nurtured appetite; these sit under the shade of their own trees, and bathe themselves in the adjoining streams; they go in peace to the houses of their rural gods, and present them with flowers, rice, fruits, and such as the ground brings forth; they never dream of foreign conquests, nor are troubled with domestic broils, but lead their lives in a perpetual tranquillity and innocence; all that they desire of Heaven is the continuance of those harmless delights they at present enjoy; as for the tumultuary pleasures of other mortals, they have them in contempt. This is an umbrage of the felicity we are promised in paradise, where the sound of the drum and the trumpet shall not be heard, and the instruments of war shall be of no use.

If thou chargest me with inconstancy in my opinions, I neither deny it, nor am ashamed, it being better to change one's thoughts every day, than to be fixed in error all one's life. This to a friend.

Paris, 18th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1667.

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#### IV.—To AFIS, *Bassa*.

THE warriors and mechanics, statesmen and fiddlers, courtiers and husbandmen, students and chimney-sweepers, are all taken up in discoursing of the mighty preparations the Grand Signior is making to besiege Candia; they talk of fifteen thousand pioneers, who are at work in order to this grand undertaking, and that the city is blocked up by an army of sixty thousand men; that they have been raising batteries round about it ever since the moon of December; and that the Sultan is resolved to win this important place, though he hazard half the Ottoman empire.

This is refreshing news to Mahmut, who has heard nothing but prosperous stories of the mussulmans arms these many years. Now I begin to lift up my head and take courage, when the empire of true believers makes some noise and figure in the world; whereas my heart perpetually drooped before; I was like one among the dead.

It was but last year when the Nazarenes could boast, that notwithstanding all the menaces and preparations of the Grand Signior, yet the Venetians were the first in field by land, and appeared earliest with their fleet at sea, doing wonderful things in Dalmatia, and blocking up Canea in the isle of Candy; now it is to be hoped they will change their note, and begin to consider what a formidable

ble force they have provoked against them; even the puissance of all Asia, men of war from their nativities, an army of select and chosen soldiers, undaunted heroes, sons of thunder, magnanimous, invincible, and destined to vanquish the uncircumcised nations.

My heart is revived within me at the contemplation of sure and certain victories attending this glorious expedition; my spirits are dilated with joy; I celebrate a du-nalma in my breast; I am like an Arabian horse, that foams, curvets, and paws the ground in fierceness, when he hears the sound of the trumpet warning to battle; his eyes sparkle with martial fury, a smoke goes out of his nostrils, he lifts up the voice of his courage, his rider can hardly restrain him; so am I all in transport at these good tidings, I can hardly contain myself within the compass of moderation; as old as I am, I feel a youthful vigour stirring in my veins; methinks I long to be in the heat of the sacred combat, in the thickest clouds of gun-powder smoke, to stand the shock of showers of bullets, or with my scimeter in hand, to hew my way to immortal honour and felicity; for those who die in this cause go straight to paradise: But I must be contented with this tame humble post, and serve the Grand Signior in the manner prescribed by my superiors; I tell thee, it is no small mortification for an active spirit to be thus confined; but resignation becomes every good mussulman, and I willingly sacrifice my passions to the pleasure of the grantees of the Porte, and the interest of the Ottoman empire.

Here I sit, like a fox in his den, watching the motions of the infidels; if any thing occurs worthy of notice, out I bolt upon it, and make it my prey, and send it as a present to the august ministers; I write to all by turns, and therefore none has reason to take exceptions.

If thou wouldst know what they are doing here in the court of France, they are mustering the king's troops; they are revelling and feasting at Versailles, the king's new palace, where the princes exercise themselves with the noble discipline, which they call running in squadrons; whilst thousands of people flock daily to Versailles from Paris, and all the adjacent countries round about, partly to be spectators of these royal pastimes, and partly to behold that gorgeous fabric, which is esteemed the fairest and most magnificent in the world.

Serene bassa, this monarch has a vast genius; whatsoever he undertakes he accomplishes, and all his performances are surprisngly great; he has a deep forecast, and seldom fails in his judgment of what will probably come to pass; he is happily made, born, and brought up; a prince, one would think, designed by fate for the empire of the West.

Renowned Asis, I kiss the hem of thy illustrious robe, and with a profound obeisance bid thee adieu.

Paris, 20th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1667.

V.—To HASNADAR BASSI, *Chief Treasurer to the Sultan.*

I AM convinced it is now time for me to be resolute, bold, and assured in my own conduct; for it is in-vain to ask counsel of the sublime ministers; I have addressed myself at certain seasons to them on that account, ever since I came first to Paris, but not one of them has vouchsafed me an answer, or given me any particular instructions how to deport myself in an emergent peril of discovery; whether I should own myself an agent for the Grand Signior, or deny it; whether I should boldly stand the brunt of all events, or fly to artifices and evasions; whe-



ther I should persist in acting the Moldavian, and continue to personate a Christian student, an ecclesiastic candidate, under the feigned name of Titus, or frankly tell them, I am a musfulman, an Arab, and secret slave of the sultan.

I ought to have been certified in these cases, and not left at random to guess, at this vast distance, the pleasure of my superiors; but since it is their will thus to make trial of my fidelity, prudence, and skill, in warding off the assaults of common chance, misfortune, and the attempts of sly designing men, I will be as cunning as I can, without embarrassing my peace with constant panic fears and apprehensions of I know not what; no vain endeavours to avoid the fixed decree of fate shall make me change my lodging, or fly from every menacing contingency; I will rather trust to providence and present courage, the justice of my cause and native innocence, leaving the event to destiny.

By what I have said, thou wilt perceive I am in some trouble, and I can assure thee thou art not mistaken: I am hattered, hunted up and down, and persecuted worse than the foxes, hares, and hinds near Adrianople; I am an old man, and yet they envy me the happiness of a natural death; they would not have me go down to the grave in peace; I have been imprisoned, threatened, dodged up and down the streets, assassinated in the dark, had my chamber searched, my letters in danger of being seized, with those of the supreme ministers; I have run the risk of a discovery, by meeting casually an infidel whose slave I once was at Palermo in Sicily; I have been undermined by musfulmans, as well as Nazarenes, by strangers, and by Solyman my cousin; yet in all these perils I have acquitted myself faithfully, come off with success, and saved the honour of my sovereign, which is the only thing for which I am solicitous; but for ought

I know, my care may prove in vain, and the evils which I have so long fortunately escaped may now surprize and ruin me. As to myself, I care not what becomes of me; and if the secrets of my commission be revealed, let the ministers of the Porte answer for that, who would never give me the least direction.

About two or three years ago, I was forced to remove from my old lodgings, where I had resided ever since my first coming to Paris: The dangers that then assaunted me drove me to this house, where I still am, in a very obscure place by the wall of the city; yet even hither am I pursued by watchful enemies; new hazards threaten me on all hands; but I am resolved to fly no more, unless it be into the city ditch, where I can find admittance through my landlord's cellar. There is a private passage, dug perhaps in elder times, during some siege, to serve the strait necessities of those who then possessed this house; it is so cunningly contrived, that human wit can never discover it, unless by chance, or by direction of those that know it; the ditch is dry, the door of the house always locked, and my trusty host swears nobody shall come in by day or night, till I have made a safe retreat; so that if all the officers in Paris should come to search, I should have time to pack up my papers, and sink away into my lurking hole; and if they should by monstrous accident find the concealed avenue, I could soon slip into the fields, through the last postern in the wall, and lock them in beyond the possibility of pursuit, whilst I took care to hide myself afresh, or leave the country.

This is my final resolution if ever I am put to an extremity again; in the mean time I desire thee to make it part of thy care, that Mahmut shall not want for money to carry on the sultan's private affairs without a baulk: I do not demand unreasonable things; let me but live;

and hate enough to defray the necessary expences of my service, and that is all I crave; but let my supplies be well timed and proportioned, that I may husband my pension to the best advantage, or else I must always press, and that is a thing I hate. I have written to all the treasurers that went before thee on the same account, and with equal boldness; therefore take not in ill part what comes from blunt sincerity, and constant full desires to serve effectually the Grand Signior. It will be very easy for thee to anticipate Mahmut's expectations, without exceeding the orders thou hast received. Money be damned, if we could breathe and serve our friends, and carry on the affairs of human life without it. I am an Arab, and could as freely pass away my time in harmless rambles over the provinces of Asia, as thus to be confined to narrow fretting circumstances, the only effects of too unshaken, unregarded, and incorruptible loyalty.

Wealthy dispenser of the Ottoman gold, I ask no alms, but my appointed salary, in sending of which I desire thee to remember the old Roman proverb, which says, "That he gives twice who gives in season."

Paris, 9th of the 6th Moon; of the Year 1667.

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VI.—*To NATHAN BEN SADDI, a Jew at Vienna.*

I know not whether I shall live to hear from thee again, or to send thee another letter; age, sickness, misfortune, together with the malice of men, have laid a thousand snares for my life; I am as it were haunted by nature, providence, destiny, and chance, into the very toils of death, from whence it will be very difficult for me to escape. Not to amuse thee, I am in danger of being discovered, seized, imprisoned, and then thou knowest I can expect

no less than to be put to the torture, and racked with a thousand inventions of cruelty, that so they may force me to confess what I am, and what my business is in this kingdom and city, where I have resided so many years.

I was suspected by Cardinal Richieu for a muskman, as I have reason to believe from several convincing circumstances of that minister's carriage to me, ever since his first acquaintance with me at Paris; and the same jealousy caused his successor, Cardinal Mazarin, to put me into the Bastile, where I was closely confined for the space of six moons, and I might have lain there till this time, for ought I know, had it not been for the good conduct and honest fidelity of Eliachim. In fine, though I have hitherto escaped discovery, yet I cannot flatter myself that I shall always do so; if they once lay hold on me again, they will certainly search me for the fear of circumcission, and then all the arguments the wit of man can find will not be of force to blind them any longer, or save me from the vengeance of the state; they will certainly put me to a cruel death.

However, I will baffle them if I can, and if I once escape, I will bid adieu to Paris, if not to the whole kingdom, being resolved not to trust any more to the deceitful security of new lodgings in this city, and a vain removal from one precinct and house to another; for the very air of Paris is fatal to me. I am never free from terror whilst within these melancholy walls; the genius of the place is at enmity with mine; every thing I cast my eyes on seems to lower and frown upon me; I start at the voices of men going along the streets, and discoursing about their own affairs; and if any one knocks at the door, I am presently upon my guard, my anxious soul still labouring with sad presages of some calamity at hand, ready to rush upon me unawares.

Perhaps I may go to Lyons, where a stranger may live an age concealed, and void of peril, as in this city ; or I may take a farther journey to Marseilles, Toulon, or any other sea-port town, where I will expect new orders from my superiors.

In the mean time, thou mayest continue to address thy letters as before ; for that course can never fail, let me be where it pleases Heaven ; Eliachim will take care of all things. I wrote to the Hafnadar bassi on the same account, desiring fresh supplies of money, which I suppose will come by the way of Vienna ; if so, I trust to thy prudence in ordering my bills with speed, and the usual cautiousness.

Nathan, adieu ; and whatever becomes of me, live thou long and happily to serve the Grand Signior.

Paris, 9th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1667.

#### VII.—*To the venerable MUFTI.*

As the poor injured labourer, or slave oppressed by cruel and obdurate masters ; as the despairing client, who can find no justice from the cheiks, cadis, or cadilesquers, fly immediately to the seraglio to make their last appeal, and seek redress from the great arbiter of human fends ; so falls poor Mahmut prostrate at thy feet, O sacred oracle of mussulmans, begging from thy authority, whom no believer dares to disobey, what I could never yet obtain from any minister of state or bassia of the bench ; that is, how I must act in case I am discovered, or barely suspected, examined, and put to my oath, concerning my business at Paris. Lay thy speedy commands on those whose care it ought to be that no intelligent, advice, or counsel be wanting to me, the faithful agent of the Porte, now

siding here incognito, a spy upon the infidels ; or at least vouchsafe to send me thy instructions, rules infallible, orders of perfect wisdom and divine sagacity.

I cannot for the future stand the brant of long suspected casualties, events which glimmer from afar, like distant *ignes fatui*, or other vagrant meteors of the night ; for so contingencies appear which are to come, uncertain and remote, though sometimes near at hand, yet with deceitful show they still mislead bewildered mortals in the dark ; so the tired traveller in Libyan wastes is tantalised by mocking rays of sands in drifted heaps, or flying bodies loosely wafted by the winds, on which the moon and stars casting their beams, create refractions like domestic lamps or tapers, and encourage the disconsolate man to hope for neighbouring villages or towns, where he may rest his weary limbs, and find an hospitable entertainment ; secure from dragons, lions, tigers, or the more fierce and cruel race of men, who lurk in secret places of the affrighting desert, to rob unwary strangers as they pass.

It is sad, most holy patriarch of the faithful, that men are thus degenerate, and transcend the horrid nature of the wildest beasts ! but sadder still, that cities, first designed for sanctuaries of the distressed, should become worse than deserts, and more inhospitable than the purlicu of dragons, or the dreadful haunts of lynxes, crocodiles, and other animals of prey ; that men pretending to be civilized, to live in community, and reciprocal participation of all good offices, incorporated by the same laws, for no other end but to help, assist, and defend one another against all foreign enemies, should, instead of this, prove more barbarous than savages, and more voracious than cannibals, whilst every citizen preys on his neighbour, and devours him whom he has sworn to protect ; they all live by robbery and spoil ; the rich and potent

since those whose wealth is not sufficient to defend them from oppression. Thus are towns and cities, from celebrated refuges of men, become the dens of thieves and cruel murderers; the whole earth is stained with the blood of the poor; the cries of widows and orphans pierce the heavens; the generations of men are corrupted with fraud, avarice, perfidy, ambition, envy, and a thousand other vices; brother cannot trust the son of his own mother; fathers are unnatural to their genuine offspring; children think the days tedious which prolong their parents lives; self-love teaches a man to betray his beloved friend, for whom he rather ought to lose his life; an universal defection from justice and sound morality reigns every where.

But what is most surprising is, that even among those who bear the glorious title and character of the true faithful mussulmans, there should be found a crew of miscreants, villains, and traitors to God, his prophet, and their sovereign. I speak not of such, whose genial inclinations tempt them to commit vulgar sins, which injure no man but themselves; I tax no drunkards, gamesters, and those amorous persons, who waste their bodies, time, estates, and sacrifice their reputation to voluptuousness; these are but venial sins, and soon washed off by the appointed purifications and penances; a little water, dust, or sand, with fasting and devout invocation of the eternal Alla, cancels these peccadillos; they are all put to the account of human frailty; such is the pleasure of eternal goodness: But I accuse the blacker crimes of those whom fretting envy stimulates to persecute their harmless neighbour, or base ingratitude prompts to betray their friends, or native malice teaches to seek out all occasions of doing mischief in the world; a busy, restless sort of men, buzzing about like wasps or hornets, stinging every one they fasten on; or like the punes of Paris, a troublesome kind

of insects, which interrupt the sweet repose of men, creeping upon them in their beds and slumbers, and, silly biting them to suck their blood.

Such are the men of whom I now complain, who hatter me from stratagem to stratagem, from one retrenchment to another, whose crime is double, in that they are persons of my own religion, professors of the genuine faith brought down from Heaven, followers of the prophet who could neither write nor read, and subjects to the Grand Signior.

It is a long time since I had first occasion to accuse some at the seraglio of private, sly attempts to undermine and ruin me, that they might gain my post. It will seem invidious, even in my own defence, after so many addresses to the ministers of the Porte, now to repeat their names, and discompose thy sacred thoughts with black memoirs of human malice. It is not revenge I seek, but for the future how to escape, if not prevent the like conspiracies; nor is it for myself alone I cherish this unusual zeal and care, but for my master's interest and honour.

I have served near thirty years in this precarious station, and never made the least false step, or if I have, it was not discerned, which is the same thing in effect; and I am very unwilling to miscarry at last through the treachery of my pretended friends at Constantinople, or for want of full instructions from the imperial divan.

It is for this reason I presume to address to the dust of thy feet, supreme judge of the faithful, begging the interposition of thy paternal authority in my behalf.

There is one thing more which in all humility I recommend to thy wisdom and sanctity; I have often written to thy predecessor on the same account, beseeching him to promote the translation of histories, and other



learned books, out of foreign languages into Turkish or Arabic, that so knowledge might flourish among the musfulmans, and the infidels might have no more ground to call us barbarous. Let men skilful in languages and sciences be sought for ; there are not wanting such at Constantinople, and in other parts of the empire ; let them be employed in compiling an universal history of the world in Turkish, more ample, true, and correct than any that has gone before it in Greek, Latin, or any other language ; this will bring eternal honour to the Ottoman empire, and prove no hard task to them that shall undertake it, since it will be only a choice collection out of other authors, a garland of flowers culled from the various fields of history, and composed together with an order full of lustre and beauty, the whole work being interwoven with a chain of chronological years, which will not only give it a singular grace, but also be of great advantage to the musfulman readers.

Successor of the apostles, remember that though our holy lawgiver could neither write nor read, yet the succeeding caliphs encouraged learning. Benediction on the souls of them and their posterity. So will future ages bless thy memory if thou vouchsafest to encourage this glorious work, and Ithuriel, the angel of science, will make thee his associate in paradise.

With profound submissions. I retire from thy sacred presence, begging thy absolution and blessing.

Paris, 9th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1667.

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VIII.—*To CARA HALI, Physician to the Grand Signior.*

AMONG other dispatches I could not forget what I owe to the long continued friendship which has been between

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us. Having leisure therefore before the post goes, I will inform thee of a birth which has occasioned little joy to the parents, but much admiration among all that hear of it, and raised learned disputes between the professors of physic and surgery.

In the town of Weerted, near Ardenburg, in the Low Countries, a woman was lately delivered of a monstrous child, with two heads, two necks; four arms, and proportionably all parts both outward and inward double to the navel, which seemed to be the centre of union between the two bodies; for from thence downwards there appeared only the proportion and shape of one body, with two thighs, legs, and feet; the faces were different; one squalid and irregular, without a nose or mouth, except a kind of orifice under the chin, for the eyes possessed the place of the mouth, and a perfect masculine genital took up the room of the nose; the other was fair, and made with symmetry, having nothing extraordinary, saving two teeth growing out of the gums.

This irregular production has been curiously dissected by a famous anatomist, who found two hearts, two stomachs, and the other vitals all single. What I have said is attested by five professed physicians who opened this wonderful creature.

There have been many examples of extraordinary births, especially in these parts of the world; and I have read in a French author, a man of credit, that in the year 1592 of the Christian ægira, a woman of Alsatia brought forth at once an hundred and fifty children, each but three inches long.

But what I shall now tell thee, though it be not remarkable for the number of children, yet has something singular in the circumstances that attended it.

Imetrude, the Countess of Akorse, actuated one of

her neighbours of adultery because she had three children at a birth, saying, "She deserved to be tied up in a sack, and thrown into the sea." Next year the countess herself was delivered of twelve sons all at a birth; and touched with remorse for the sentence which she had pronounced against the other woman, concluding it now a just punishment for herself, sent a maid with eleven of these new born infants, commanding her to drown them in the next river, reserving only one to be the heir of his father's estate.

Fate had so determined that her husband the earl met the maid as she was going to commit this execrable villainy, and asking her what she had got in her lap, she answered, "I am going to drown a few young whelps." The earl being a great hunter, and consequently a lover of dogs, had a mind to see whether any of these whelps were of a promising aspect, when to his astonishment he found eleven of human shapes, all living and perfect, but very small. He pressed the maid so far that she confessed the whole truth; whereupon, enjoining her silence, and assurance of a good reward, he caused her to carry them to one of his tenants, where, being all cherished and laid warm, he disposed of them afterwards in convenient places, to be nursed and brought up till they came of age; then he sent for them privately to his house, having first apparelled them in the same fashion as their brother was in who dwelt at home.

As soon as the countess cast her eye on them, and observed their number and faces so exactly resembling him who had been always with her, she wept in a passion betwixt shame and joy, confessing her former cruel intention, and, falling at the feet of her lord, he pardoned her. From these eleven descend the family of the Whelps, or Guelphs, so renowned in Germany, and

bearing this name from the maid's answer to the earl when she had them in her lap.

Such strange productions as these occasion various inquiries among the philosophers here in the West, whether human souls be generated like the bodies to which they are united, or whether they are created by the immediate power of God. Assuredly these infidels are much in the dark, and shut their eyes against the light of the oriental sages. If the prophets should rise from the dead, they would not be able to convince these uncircumcised that all things visible and invisible are from eternity, and that there is nothing new in the system of the universe, except the various outward forms, which change indeed according to the laws of endless transmigration, and sometimes according to the frolics of nature, who loves to mix her interludes and antics with the established senses of every age.

What I have written is to divert thee; but when shall I have an answer as from an old friend? Let not the honours of the seraglio make thee forget those with whom thou hast once been familiar. My dear Hali, be not too much a courtier. Thy long silence and reservedness forces this language from me. Shall Constantinople blot out thy remembrance of Arabia? or the blast of a monarch's favour be more valuable than the durable integrity of a countryman, a friend? If the sultan trusts his life in thy hands, dost not thou know that a fit of gripes, the stone, gout, or any violent distemper, will turn all his confidence into jealousy? I tell thee he will suspect poison in thy very looks.

Therefore, continue to be the same man as thou wert formerly, and let not thy improvements in physic make thee go backward in morality.

Paris, 23d of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1667.

## IX.—To NATHAN BEN SADDI, a Jew at Vienna.

Now I see thou art a man of business; thy mind is cured of its religious itch, and restored to a sound complexion; persevere and be happy.

Let no vain scruples of conscience molest thy soul concerning the peace that was lately made between the Grand Signior and the German. Cares of this nature belong to those who sit at the helm and direct the steerage of the state; as for thee and me, our part is only to obey, without inquiring whether it be right or wrong that we are commanded. Every thing is lawful to us that is enjoined by our superiors; and the public reason ought to supersede our private narrow sentiments. Whatever premiums we incur by our obedience, the conscience of the state will be our bail, our advocate, and our ransom; therefore, once more, go on and prosper.

Thou couldst not have done the Grand Signior a greater piece of service than by thus happily insinuating thyself with the Hungarian faction at Vienna; for by that means thou becomest master of the secrets of both sides, the Janus that overlooks two opposite cabals at once, and so mayest not only form thy intrigues the better, but also give a clearer light to the ministers of the sublime Porte.

I am displeased to hear of the frequent conspiracies that have been made against the emperor's person; not for any love that I bear to him or the house of Austria, for I wish there was not a branch of that incestuous stem left alive on earth; but I never knew such kind of plots, if once discovered and prevented, to take effect again. Besides, they many times spoil the main design; for what signifies it if this emperor were seized and put to death, so long as there is any one of that tyrannical race surviv-

ing? They are all of the same blood and interest, educated also in the same principles and maxims; in a word, they have all but one game to play, which is, to aggrandise themselves and their posterity for ever; and therefore these clandestine methods of poison or assassin will but make them more watchful to prevent all designs of the like nature for the future.

Remember, Nathan, that the mark which thou art to aim at is, to cherish the discontents of Hungary by all the arts of a cunning statesman. Count Peter de Sereni is a fit subject to work upon: The death of his brother, and his own disgrace at the imperial court, with the rising fortune of Monticuculi, have filled him with sentiments of revenge and envy. He cannot behold Count d'Aversperg in possession of Carlestadt without much resentment, having with so great passion begged that government for himself.

If this prince can but be induced to revolt, many thousands of the Croats, Dalmatians, and Slavonians will take up arms under him, which will at once weaken both the German empire and the state of Venice; besides, the marriage of his daughter with Prince Ragotski may engage the Transylvanians in his party. Count Nadaſti also, they say, is not well pleased with the court, aiming to be Palatine of Hungary, which has been refused him. This news comes to me but by report; if it be true, thou art in the fairer way to succeed. Such great malcontents as these will puzzle the ministers of state, and exercise the policy of the Prince Lobkovitz.

Besides, if things should not proceed to an open rupture, yet thou knowest the Hungarians are offended at the late peace, which will not fail to put them upon committing perpetual acts of hostility. They stomach it extremely, that the town of Newhawsel is in the Grand

Signior's hands ; and they will be always on their guard in the neighbouring parts, patrolling about, and skirmishing with our foragers, which will afford a good occasion at any time for our sovereign to break the peace, whenever it is for his interest. There are abundance of consequences in such a case, more than we can think of or foresee, yet all to our advantage. As long as we go the right way to work, all things will succeed well. Make no false steps, and there is no danger of stumbling.

Remember still that thy particular charge is to foment a civil war between the court of Vienna and the Hungarians. It is no matter who gets the better of it. Let them quarrel to eternity, and destroy one another in God's name ; then shall the Mussulman empire thrive.

Before God, you have a fine opportunity, ye factious comrades ; but beware of sly interlopers. Damn the easiness and good-nature (falsely so called) of those who will admit any man into their cabal, provided he puts on a fair guise of one of the party. Ye cannot be too reserved and close. Do ye think the emperor has not his spies about in every corner ? A pox of your stupidity, if you suffer this brave design to miscarry for want of looking sharp. Damn you for a parcel of old thread-bare fools, if after so many experiences you do not furbish up your wits, and look to yourselves. There is Gottendorff, Railwits, Skus, the knight baron Leipsem, Elnard the hereditary pretender to the marquissate of Thanu, with many others whom I will not name in this letter, by Moses and Mahomet they are all rogues ; and if you trust them too far, they surely betray you.

Nathan, believe me I would not write so passionately were my life at all precious ; but I have no other end in protracting the minute of my transmigration, than to exalt, as much as in me lies, the majesty of the Ottoman li-

neage, and to guard it from dangers. I am placed here on purpose by fate; and I'll do my duty, though the whole world should sputter their venom against me.

O Israelite, both thou and I must shortly leave this earth, or at least we must change the form of our earth; we shall never cease to be something, God knows what.

In the mean time, be what thou seemest to be.

Paris, 23d of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1667.

X.—*To the most sublime and magnificent of the Mussulman Bassas, ACHMET, the Visier Azem.*

MAY chaplets of immortal flowers crown thy noble head, illustrious Cuperli, strong prop of the house of Ertogriel, main buttress of the tower of the Selzuccian tribe, the lineage of Ottoman, heir of the heirs to Ismael, the eldest son of our father Abraham, the glory of men, and the beloved of God.

Not the unmatched perfumes of Arabia, not the surprising odours of the Persian incense, which they offered to the sun, not all the most skilful compositions of eastern aromatics put together, are half so sweet as is thy glorious name among the mussulmans.

I received thy orders with a reverence second only to that which is due to the Grand Signior, and will perform them with a loyal alacrity. I perfectly comprehend thy design, and the drift of the sublime Porte; for thou hast stated the case like an oracle. It will not be difficult, I believe, to suggest underhand to the French court the advantage they may make of the present distractions in Hungary, for they are already become the subject of common discourse. Lewis XIV. by encouraging those malcontents, and supporting their cause with private disburse-



ments of money, will doubtless facilitate his own designed conquests on the neighbourhood of the Rhine; for if the Hungarian lords proceed to an open revolt, and throw themselves under the sultan's protection, the emperor of Germany will be obliged to turn all his forces that way, which yet will not be able to withstand the united armies of the Hungarians, Croatsians, Heydukes, Tartars, and the most invincible Osmans: So that by this means the empire will be weakened on both sides, and in fatal danger of its final dissolution; whilst the strength and power of the Grand Signior, and the king of France his noble ally will daily increase.

Besides, this will put all Europe into divisions and parties, according as their interests and affections incline them, some siding with the emperor, others with the French king, whilst the generality will stand neuters, and contemplate the issue of these wars without assisting one side or other; than which nothing can fall out more happy or propitious for the sacred monarchy of the Osmans.

In obedience to thy command I have written to Nathan Ben Saddi on this account, altogether as from myself, not giving him the least ground to conjecture that I had received an order from the Porte. I frequently take the liberty to counsel that honest Jew in many cases, inviting him to projects in general terms, and to do some extraordinary service for the Grand Signior; so that he will imagine my writing now is only of course, without suspecting any thing else.

I beseech thee to send me all the instructions that are needful for me, not only to carry on this affair prosperously, but all others relating to the Porte. I will be careful to transmit thy commands to Nathan Ben Saddi, in such a disguise as he shall not dream they are any other than my own proposals; since thou dost not think it fit

that the majesty of the Porte should appear to be concerned in a business of this nature, especially so soon after the late peace concluded with the emperor.

It is an invaluable honour thou hast done me, in trusting to my conduct an intrigue whose effects, for ought I know, may reach all the nations of Europe, and last till the day of doom. Question not my fidelity, for it is of proof; besides, it many times tempts a man to be false, when he knows he is suspected to be so.

I am slave of the slaves of those who stand near the sultan's person, and confess Mahomet to be the apostle of God; more particularly I am devoted to those who have the honour to serve thee, the grand pillar of the Osman empire. God perpetuate thy felicity.

Paris, 23d of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1667.

XI.—*To the SELICTAR AGA, or Sword-bearer to the Sultan.*

THESE parts abound in action at this time: Couriers run up and down from court to court with secret dispatches and matters of deep import. The death of the Queen of Poland and of Pope Alexander VII. occasion this new stirring and bustling in Europe: She died on the 10th of the 3th moon; he on the 22d. Every kingdom and state in the West have some interest to make or preserve, some design to form or to carry on, the success of which many times depends on the well managing the consequences of these great and fatal breaches which death makes in the families of mighty potentates, houses of royal descent.

The French court were all dissolved in joy for the marriage of the Duke of Guise with Mademoiselle d'Alençon.

they were in the midst of the nuptial triumphs and festival solemnities when the black expresses came, which soon turned all their mirth to mourning, at least in outward appearance ; for it was not decent for the sons to continue longer révelling, when the great father lay embalmed in order to his sepulture : Therefore, to prevent idleness, the king thought fit to change the pastimes of the court for more necessary business, and the soft entertainments of Hymen for the rugged toils of war. He caused his armies to march into Flanders, to give his queen possession of certain estates fallen to her in those parts : This surprised the Low Countries, who began to demolish several places of strength that had not sufficient garrisons to defend them.

The king was himself in person at the head of his army, which gave immense courage to his soldiers ; so that Tournay quickly surrendered to him on the 24th of the 6th moon, and Douay not many days after. In the meanwhile, the Mareschal d'Aumont, with another army, takes Bergue and Furnes near Dunkirk ; then he besieges Lille, which was taken also after seventeen days, but not without the king's presence, who appeared indefatigable, always on horseback, or in his coach, going the rounds, and surveying all the works ; he slept in his coach that night the town was taken, on a bridge not far from Ghant. They have also taken Courtray, Oudenard, and Alost ; they have defeated the Prince de Lig  , and the Count de Marcin ; in a word, they have done so many great things this campaign, that all Flanders is stupified as at a miracle.

Illustrious aga, I have in a sort of miniature presented thee with the true effigies of western affairs at this juncture ; let not my abruptness displease thee, since this

epitome describes the truth as lively as if I had filled an all of parchment up with words.

Paris, 2d of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1667.

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## XII.—To DIGNET OGLOU.

I KNOW not whether I have reason to rejoice or be sad in my present circumstances, so ambiguous are the events of human life. Even the most blandishing gifts of fortune, and such as we are extremely taken with, many times prove like the Trojan horse, only fair and gay in outward appearance, whilst, like that deceitful engine of the Grecian craft, they carry an army of hidden calamities within, which, in the midst of our secure repose, when we least dream of any evil, rush upon us from their concealed and unsuspected ambuscades, putting us all in terror and confusion.

However, since I have had a sufficient share of trouble, grief, and melancholy, now let other sprightly, cheerful passions take their turn, be the event how it will; I cannot always bear the burden of a loaded spleen, crammed and puffed up with melancholy winds, the embryos or vehicles at least of horrid thoughts, perplexing cares, and black despair; besides, methinks I have a fit occasion to be merry, being by a very pleasant accident at once rid of a great many vain doubts and anxieties, (which have disturbed my peace for these three or four years) and restored to the charming conversation of Daria, whom thou mayest remember I so passionately loved in the days of my youth.

Know then, that one day as I was walking in the streets, I met that lovely Greek in mourning: Surprised above measure at the sight of a person for whom I had

formerly cherished so great an esteem, I stood still at first like one thunderstruck ; I could not forbear questioning my own senses, and giving the lie to my eyes, which assured me it was she ; neither age nor absence had effaced her loved idea from my memory, or so much changed her face, but that I easily called to mind the object of my amorous desires. Yet my astonishment was such at this unthought of interview, that I had not resolution enough to believe myself ; and her amazement seemed no less than mine, whilst neither of us had power to speak, but stood like fools ; till I, ashamed longer to lose myself in such an effeminate confusion of spirit, first broke silence, not without some rapture and emotion, crying out, “ Is it Daisa or her ghost I see ? has fortune blessed or mocked me at the fatal hour ? or do deluding nymphs and fairies haunt the streets of populous cities, walking about in borrowed forms, and mixing with the throng of mortals, to tantalise our softest hopes with a false show of some dear lover, friend, or person highly wished for, never to be enjoyed ? It may be true that Cytherea left her heaven, (as Virgil does relate) and in a Tyrian dress met the heroic offspring of Anchises in the fields, amusing him with a disguised semblance of mortality and human race, until her heavenly voice discovered that she was a goddess. So used Diana to descend in dead of night, and mix the slumbers of Endymion with immortal dreams, stealing soft kisses from the lovely youth, and whispering celestial words into his ears, more forcible than the songs of Orpheus, when he moved the trees and rocks to passions of Platonic love. At other times they would come down, and take the air of cool mount Hæmus, or the lofty Ida. Thus Melpomene, Clio, and the rest of the sacred nine, would often visit the refreshing heights of their beloved Parnassus, from whence descending to the shady banks of Helicon, with

more than mortal voices would awake and tempt the wanton echoes to strike up, like unisons, and join in concert with them, whilst they chant the praises of some demi-god or hero whom they love. But that a goddess, nymph, or muse did ever frequent the common crowd of mortals in a city, is not to be credited; therefore, unless I dream, it is Daria I behold."

My Dgnet, I was running on in higher ecstasies at mentioning of her name, but that she smiled, and interrupted me with an obliging reservedness, and said, "Mahmut, if you are the man I take you for, and would have my esteem, be less passionate, and leave off this wild way of raillery: We both are past the vanities of youth; our years should now retain no remnant froths of early boiling blood, and young, green, foolish passions."

I took this only for a female banter, an essay of woman's craft, to try the sense and humour of a man; for thou knowest the greatest princess loves a truly passionate address, though not a puling whining one; besides, it is the fashion here in France to use romantic forms of speech when they make love. However, in regard it was inconvenient to lose more time in the open street by this sort of discourse, I invited her to a house where we might converse with more freedom. She accepted the motion, and I conducted her to the house of Eliachim the Jew. It is pleasantly seated on the banks of the river Seine, and has a fair garden belonging to it. Eliachim happened to be abroad, which gave us a better opportunity of improving our time, without the necessary interruption of salutes, compliments, &c. usual in such a case; and I had the command of his house, as though he had been there himself.

It being in the heat of summer, I led Daria into a little shady green retreat, in the midst of the garden, out of

the reach of curious ears, where, under the cool refreshing shelter of a wide-spread beach, we sat down and called to mind our former acquaintance and friendship. Daria still retained her native modesty and prudence, neither had the external beauty of her face suffered any greater detriment than what befalls the fairest roses, violets, or other flowers, which, even in their most decayed state, merit the character of amiable sweetness. However, the lustre of her wit and goodness of her humour supplied all other defects.

I protest, my Dagnet, it was impossible for me to see, and not to love again, a person whose idea was once so domestic and familiar to my soul; and I was the more animated to make my court, when she told me that she was a widow. It was easy to forget, or banish from my thoughts, her former faithful treachery, in acquainting her husband with my amour; love soon removes all puny obstacles; it is ready, prompt, and dexterous to find excuses for the greatest faults a friend can ever commit, much more ingenuous to palliate the peccadillos of a mistress. This generous passion, by a peculiar force, extirpates all revenge, and blots out the memoirs of passed unkindnesses; it ever springs and blooms with fresh desires, young vigorous inclinations; like to the palm oppressed with weights, it higher grows; it would fain increase, dilate, and stretch itself to immortality. There is no consideration, but that of honour, can pretend to match or stand in competition with the divine regard of love; and yet the most exalted human glory often veils to this soft passion; the conquerors of the world suffer themselves to be overcome by women.

Wonder not therefore, that I, who am flesh and blood as well as other men, could not now defend myself from fair Daria's charms.

Excuse me in that I cannot now give thee any farther account of this adventure, being interrupted by a messenger from Eliachim the Jew, who brings me word my mother is very sick, and wants my company. Expect another dispatch speedily.

Paris, 15th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1667.

XIII.—*To PESTELI HALI, his brother, Master of the Customs, and Superintendent of the Arsenal at Constantinople.*

It is written in the fates, that man should once at least be vanquished by a woman in his life; but it is my chance to be twice subdued by one of that fair sex. I know not whether I acquainted thee with the love I formerly bore to Daria, a beautiful Greek lady sojourning in Paris; neither have I at this instant an opportunity to look over the file of my letters, they being in my lodgings, and I at Eliachim's house, (where I write this letter) for the sake of a convenience, which offers itself, of sending thee a small present of watches and oriental stones, by a Jew, a merchant, who is just departing for Constantinople.

However, if thou art curious to know the circumstances of this amour I speak of, our friend Oglou can inform thee of it. In the mean time suffer me to vent some of my thoughts concerning women, and the love of them, rooted so deeply in our hearts by nature. None of our sex could ever escape this gentle passion, it being mixed and blended in our very original embryos, and after cherished with our mother's milk. It was the peculiar mystery of our nurses, by a thousand female tricks and arts of necessary tenderness, to blow and kindle up the little sparks of this immortal fire within our infant souls, whilst



from their breasts we sucked and guzzled down inebriating philters and love potions, more forcible and durable than those the Grecian maids compound by magic rules; when they would captivate some lovely youth within their snares. Our blood thus fed with early sympathetic draughts, becomes the seminary of a thousand amorous inclinations, general, unformed, and volatile affections to that sex; till time and opportunity fix our loose desires on some particular maid, whom fate or chance has brought into our view. At the first glance, she darts from her enchanting eyes the perfect image of her soul, which penetrates like lightning our most interior faculties; the swift idea soon transforms us into its own similitude; like melted wax we take the momentary impression of a figure which may last as long as we; or if we melt again, it is but to receive some other stamp of love. Thus our whole life passes away in an enchanted circle of amours.

However, it is the part of a wise man to regulate this passion, and not suffer it to degenerate into dotage. There is much to be said in praise of women, and not a little in their disparagement; as we are riddles to ourselves, so that sex is in a higher degree mysterious and a paradox.

It would be a kind of sacrilegious envy to conceal their excellencies, and the advantages they have of us in many regards, whilst our partial pen shall only publish their defects and infirmities. Some Hebrew doctors, from the different names of Adam and Eve, draw arguments to prove the dignity and perfection of the female sex, in that Adam signifies Earth, but Eve expresses Life; for they affirm that every name which God imposed on any thing describes its nature and qualities, as a picture represents the original; therefore, by how much life is more to

be esteemed than earth, by so much more excellent, in the opinion of those rabbis, is woman than man.

They go farther also, and from the affinity between Eve's name and the sacred name of God, the ineffable Tetragrammaton, the cabalists borrow proofs in confirmation of their doctrine.

I know not whether such critical observations be of any moment or no in this case, yet thou knowest that all the eastern languages are full of hidden mysteries, each word and letter being impregnated with some divine or natural secret, beside the common obvious sense. Thus Al Zerbi, the holy mussulman doctor, says there is magic in the sacred name of Jesus, and that whenever it shall be once pronounced through the great tube or trumpet of Michael, it shall cause all the powers in heaven, in earth, and hell, to bow the knee; this globe whereon we tread shall tremble, and all the elements melt away; the firmament shall be snatched up like to the motion of an eastern antiport, veil, or curtain; the wide stretched orbs above shall warp and roll together, as a scorched skin or piece of parchment does before a fire; so forcible will be the energy of that tremendous Word by which the universe was made, when God designs to rend this visible world of ours in pieces, that he may reveal his nobler works, the worlds invisible and eternal. This mighty frame on every side will bow, and yield, and vanish, not able to support the crowding train and lustre of immortal glories, radiant, bright essences, descending in a body from the high palaces of God, the infinite solitudes and recesses of the Omnipotent.

Thou hast no reason to be scandalised at what I write, as if I were a Christian; thou seest I have a doctor of the Arabs for my author, a true believer and reputed saint. Besides, if I am worthy to advise thee, let not the

common practice of mussulman professors in the imperial city tempt thee to despise the blessed Son of Mary, of whom our holy prophet speaks so honourably. How many chapters in the Alcoran do celebrate his praise? I rather counsel thee to imitate the honest Turcomans, who are esteemed the best of true believers; these honour both Jesus and his matchless virgin-mother; so do the Chupmessians, and all good mussulmans; as for the rest, they are either superstitious and morose fanatics, profligate renegadoes, or loose wild libertines, who fear neither God nor man.

And now I have mentioned that incomparable Mary, mother of the Messias, of whom the mighty Alcoran speaks such venerable things, it is a fit occasion to return from my digression, and proceed in relating what the Jewish rabbis say further in commendation of the female sex.

They consider the order which God, according to the writing of Moses, observed in the creation; viz. that among his works some are incorruptible and immortal, others subject to corruption and change; and that as he began in the noblest species of the former, viz. pure separate spirits, so he ended in the most illustrious of the latter, that is woman, the last of all his works, and the most perfect of compound beings; for in her are centered and consummated the nature of the heavens, the earth, air, fire, and water, with minerals, plants, and animals, and whatsoever else was made before her. This is the opinion of some Hebrew writers, who believe that God having made Eve, and then surveyed the system of his works, found nothing more excellent or divinely framed than woman; therefore in her he rested and commenced the Sabbath, as if his power and wisdom now were tired and soiled, and that he could not start the idea

of another creature more perfect than her; or as if he did not esteem the universe itself complete without the last and most accomplished of his works: For they hold it as absurd to believe, that God would finish such a prodigious and admirable task in any mean or abject thing: They also illustrate this by a similitude, asserting, that the world being, as it were, an entire circle, it follows by necessary consequence, that it was finished in that part, which by the most intimate union couples the first atom to the last.

They endeavour to strengthen this by the common principle of philosophy, which teaches that the end is always first in the intention, and last in execution. Woman therefore being the last work of the creation, it is evident, say they, that she was the chief design and aim the Almighty had in building this immense fabric, which he first furnished and adorned with infinite riches and delights, and then introduced her, as into her own native proper palace, there to reign as absolute queen over all his works.

Besides, they take advantage from the particular place of her creation to exalt her, in that she was formed in paradise among the angels, whereas man was made in the common waste among the brutes; and therefore they say women have this peculiar privilege, that when they look down from any imminent height or precipice, they feel no dizziness or giddy symptoms in their head, no mist or dimness in their eyes, being, as it were, nearer their proper element, or lofty birth place; whereas it is common for men to be troubled with these accidents in such a case.

But the most prevailing argument they use is taken from the stupendous beauty of that sex, which, like the finer sort of clouds in summer, seems to engross the splen-

dours of immortal light, and so reflect them on the world. How matchless is a woman's form ! What dazzling majesty environs her from head to foot ! Gaze on her lovely countenance without astonishment, or fix your eyes on her's without an ecstasy, those lights which do mislead the morning stars, and cause the gods to ramble from their heaven, if what the ancient poets say be true. So did Apollo for his Daphne, and Jupiter for others of that charming sex. Neither need we wonder at this, since the written law itself records, that angels fell in love with admirable maids of human race, and took them for their wives or concubines, from whom the progeny of giants came. Thus more modern writers testify, that incorporeal spirits and demons of all ranks and qualities, both good and bad, have been inflamed with ardent passions for some mortal virgin ; which is no false or vain opinion, as the incredulous part of men would fain insinuate, but a known truth, confirmed by many experiences.

Indeed, so admirable is the figure, voice, and mien of a fair woman, that he is wilfully blind who does not see, whatsoever beauties the whole world is capable of, concentrated in that sex ; and for this reason it is, that not only man, with angels, demons, genii, satyrs, and the whole series of rational beings, admire a fair woman, but also the very brutes are struck with a profound amazement at her sight ; with sighs and silent vows the animal generations pay homage to her, and adore the stately idol : Every thing in nature is enamoured, and lies prostrate at her feet ; she alone commands the universe.

Yet after all, my brother, they have their dark side too, like the rest of mixed beings. They are the frontier passes of the world above, and that below ; the gates of life and death, the very avenues to heaven or hell, according as they are used. Like fire they will warm and

refresh a man, if he keep at a due distance ; but if he approach too near, they will scorch and blister him, if not consume him quite ; or, like that other element of water, they are very good and serviceable whilst kept within their bounds, but let them once break down the banks of modesty, they will threaten all with ruin. In a word, it is neither safe to vex them in the least, or humour them too much ; the excess of fondness, as well as the defect of natural love, may equally undo us ; prudent generosity is the only method of making ourselves happy in the enjoyment of this sex.

Dear Pesteli, let us reverence ourselves, and then we cannot fail of due respect from our wives and concubines ; for they love a man that is truly masculine and brave.

Paris, 15th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1667.

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#### XIV.—*To the same.*

JUST as I had finished the other letter, I was alarmed afresh with new discoveries of Solymán's treachery. That barbarous dog is certainly an imp of hell, a devil in human flesh, an adventitious plant, plucked from the dreary banks of Phlegethon, or Cocytus, and ingrafted in our noble stock on purpose to ruin and destroy us. The whole tribe is bound to curse him with immortal execrations : He industriously seeks and studies all occasions to do mischief ; his veins sure stream with fiercest venoms, rather than with human blood ; the poison of dragons and asps is under his tongue, and the gall of crocodiles within his lips ; his lungs breathe nothing but infernal smokes ; the spirit Negidher times the systole and diastole of his heart ; and his whole body is a den of fiends, as for

and black, as those which guard the throne of the great prince of darkness.

I could have easily forgiven his sly malicious attempts upon my life and honour, his interloping tricks and plots, his calumnies and slanders, with all the train of his perfidious actions ; but that he should abuse the virtuous Fatima, daughter to our uncle Useph, is an injury I cannot put up or pardon. That innocent lady never deserved such cruel unmanly usage at his hands. The dregs of a thousand bitter curses be his potion to drink in hell, unless he repent of this prodigious baseness, and make honourable satisfaction.

Thou wilt wonder, perhaps, what is Solymán's crime, that fills me with such implacable resentments. Know then, that Fatima's husband being called to the Grand Signior's service in the wars of Dalmatia, and for that reason forced to tarry from her above these fourteen moons, she entrusted Solymán with an affair of grand importance, a matter which concerned her life, honour, and welfare in the world. It seems she had a quarrel with an old Grecian hag, who sought to prostitute her to the Great Cadi of Smyrna, where she lives. This grandee had by a strange accident seen Fatima in a bath, frequented only by women of quality. However, through some neglect of the servants, he was not spied himself, but went away deeply in love. That passion, thou knowest, makes every body restless that is tormented with it. He knew not how to ease himself, but by communicating his thoughts to the forementioned Grecian widow, whom he had often made the confidant of his amours. The thoroughpaced hawd soon promised him relief, and that she would accomplish his desires ; however, she failed, and found herself mistaken, when she came to tempt the inviolate chastity of Fatima ; for all her glittering pro-

misses, her softest rhetoric, could never corrupt a heart established firm in virtue.

Mad at her repulse, she studies how to be revenged, conceiving it not impossible to bring her designs about by violence, since fair persuasions would not do. She frames a formal accusation against Fatima before the *cadi*, taxing her with witchcraft and other crimes upon oath. The *cadi* having learned his lesson, would not hear the cause in open *divan*, but pretending indisposition of body, caused her to be brought before him in his private bed-chamber. The Greek had ready by her several suborned witnesses, to depose most horrid things against the innocent woman; when the *cadi*, professing an entire respect to Fatima's husband, seemed to take pity on her circumstances, and waved the farther prosecution of the cause till another time, keeping Fatima prisoner in the mean while in his own palace.

All this was managed so privately, that nobody in the town took notice of it, save an acquaintance or two of the Grecian widow, and Solyman our worthy cousin, who happened to be at Smyrna in this very juncture among his other rambles.

Persons in trouble are willing to fly for refuge to any friend, desiring their assistance. Fatima, full in tears at such an unexpected change of her condition, had leisure and opportunity to speak to Solyman, conjuring him to go to certain intimate friends of our family, living in Aleppo, and tell them her circumstances; instead of this, the faithless villain goes to her husband's friends at Tripoli, telling them the utmost shameful and scandalous things of Fatima his malice could invent, and that by her slewd courses she had well-nigh ruined her husband, producing at the same time forged bills and letters as from him, whereby he raised a thousand sequins, with which



the perjured villain is gone, nobody knows whither, to make his broken fortunes once again, and lay a foundation for new cheats; whilst the poor injured Fatima is found to bear the reproach and infamy of things whereof she never was guilty. But time, I hope, will clear her innocence, and bring that cursed vagabond to shame.

I counselled him indeed long ago to travel, and see the various regions of the earth; but I never advised him to load his soul in such long voyages with the guilt of base ingratitude, barbarous malice, perfidy, and other vices of the blackest hue. The smaller frailties, stains, and blemishes of human life, are too great a burden for a generous heart to bear without complaints and sighs. He that has but a spark of virtue in him blushes for every peccatillo he commits; if tempted by good company, or in hopes to banish melancholy thoughts, he indulge himself a larger draught of wine than what is ordinary, and so insensibly boil up his blood to irregular heights and superfluities, he is all this while nobody's foe but his own; he plots no mischief against his friend, relation, harmless neighbour, or acquaintance; all the enmity he shows is to himself, and in his cups he is not aware of that; for which reason afterwards, to expiate the criminal advances he made to self-murder, he willingly scums off the grosser ebullition of his heated veins in penitent weeping; a flood of tears runs from his eyes, like generous libations at the foot of the altar, to pacify the wrath of God, whilst the lighter part evaporates in pious sighs and vows. Thus his pollution vanishes like smoke, and he is soon made clean again. And for other vices it is the same: with men disposed to virtue, they endeavour to root out the evil habits they are accustomed to; they try all ways and stratagems to reform themselves: But wicked men, by inclination, sin on without remorse; they never study to

retrench the evils they commit; ever propense to vice, they choose its ways, and court the opportunities of doing impious things; they are natively unjust, and cannot live at ease without premeditated crimes; it is their element to be projecting mischief; and such a one is Solyman our confin.

God inspire him with more grateful sentiments towards his friends, more natural and affectionate to those of his blood; and a more just deportment to all men; or else may he be like Cain, who for murdering his brother was condemned to be a vagabond on earth; and like Zetli Bazar the Persian, who falsely accused Hosain the prophet, and for that reason was troubled with a palsy in his head as long as he lived.

Paris, 14th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1667.

#### XV. *To the MURTI's VICAR.*

I SENT an account to the Porte of the death of the late Rumbeg, or Pope, who is the great patriarch of the Nazerens. Now the cardinals have chosen another to succeed him, whom they call Clement IX. a man of a great character for learning and piety, and one from whom the Franks expect glorious things to be done for the public good of Christendom.

These popes seem to inherit the authority and honour of the ancient pontifex maximus, or high priest of the Romans in the time of paganism; nay, they assume a far more ample and uncontrollable power; for those Gentile prelates always submitted to the imperial authority, from which they received protection and maintenance; but these Christian fathers acknowledge no superior on earth; kings and emperors do homage to them, and perform the

meanest services ; as to hold the bason whilst the pope washes his hands, to hold the stirrup whilst he mounts or alights from off his mule ; sometimes great princes lead his horse by the bridle, whilst at another season they carry him on their shoulders. It is recorded that Eumenes, King of Pergamus, came to Rome, and pulling off his turban, humbly laid it on the ground before the senate, confessing he received his liberty from them ; and Prusias, king of Bithynia, used to style himself the Roman senate's slave, and bow down to the earth before them ; but this is nothing to the reverence which greatest monarchs pay the pope, when crawling on their hands and knees they kiss the sandal on his foot.

He can make and depose kings at pleasure, absolve subjects from their allegiance, bind and remit sins, open and shut the gates of paradise, purgatory, and hell, or at least he endeavours to make the world believe so.

He has seventy cardinals for his assistants and counsellors, all equal to princes ; an hundred and thirty archbishops under his obedience ; a thousand and seventeen bishops ; an hundred and forty-four thousand monasteries and religious houses ; three hundred thousand parishes obeying his will, and yielding homage to him ; so that if he were resolved to carry on some lasting war, he need only lay an impost of six crowns a-year on every monastery, and fifty-two on every parish, and it would amount to sixteen millions of crowns yearly income ; and if out of every monastery he chose ten men, he would have an army of fourteen hundred and forty thousand men, which is more than any potentate in the world can do beside.

Thou wilt say it is a wonder then he does not put this in practice, and so wage war with the Grand Signior,

who has fleeced him of so many flourishing countries formerly under his obedience.

O sacred oracle of the musfulmans, God has tied up his hand ; he cannot do it ; these are but empty speculations, impracticable projects, fantastic chimeras. The mighty train of his archbishops, bishops, parish priests, with jeffuits, monks, and friars, though never so willing to obey his orders in such a case, yet cannot stir a foot without the leave of their respective sovereigns ; for they are dispersed through divers kingdoms, states, and principalities, where they are subject to the laws and government in force ; so that unless he could unite the hearts of all the Christian princes one with another, and with his own, to undertake so grand an expedition, it is impossible ever to effect his will. Each nation has an interest of its own to pursue, which makes them deaf to such proposals as may embarrass, if not ruin them. No Peter of the Desert, rambling up and down from court to court, with his religious harangue, will ever again prevail to raise another crusade ; that zeal is out of fashion now in Christendom ; kings in these later ages have not half the attach and veneration for the pope they had in former times. When Pope Boniface VIII. claimed a temporal jurisdiction in France, Philip the Fair, being then king, sent him this short answer : “ Let thy great sottishness know, that in temporals we are subject to none but God alone.” And a French ambassador at Rome, speaking something boldly to the pope, the prelate reproached him, “ That his father was burnt for a heretic ;” whereupon the ambassador gave him such a box on the ear, that he fell down as dead. But it was a tart message indeed, which the eastern bishops sent to Pope John III. who claimed an universal authority over all the churches in the world. For, said they, “ We firmly believe thy absolute authority o-

ver thy own subjects, but we who are not subject to thee, cannot bear thy pride, nor are we able to satiate thy avarice. The devil be with thee, and God with us."

In a word, all Denmark, Swedeland, Norway, Holland, England, Scotland, Geneva, Ireland, half the empire, and half Switzerland, are fallen off from their obedience to the pope within these two hundred years; and these kingdoms and states which yet continue under the yoke, are ready to shake it off at every turn, when they are never so little galled and vexed. France, Spain, and Venice often huff the pope into compliance with their demands; nor dares he to resist, but winks and puts up all, like an old decreped father, for whom his sons are grown too strong.

Holy successor of the prophet and messenger of God! thou art the infallible interpreter of the law, and judge of equity, yet dost not arrogate a power above thy commission. The Grand Signior honours thy wisdom and sanctity, and thou obeyest with humble submission the imperial edicts. He is thy lord, and thou his guide and tutor in the way to paradise. May God increase thy illuminations with thy years, and inspire me and all the true faithful with sincere loyalty to our sovereign, and devout obedience to thee, without the least alloy of treachery or superstition.

Paris, 2d of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1667.

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XVI.—*To NATHAN BEN SADDI, a Jew at Vienna.*

NOW thou seest I am a truer prophet than thy new Messiah, that impostor Sabbati Sevi; and yet, though I am so in effect, I do not aspire at the title; I claim no character above that of a mortal, who has not quite for-

scited his sense and reason. However, if thou wilt yet retain some veneration for his person, show it by imitating his example, and embrace the mussulman faith as he has done; at least he outwardly professes it, and had the honour to do so first in presence of the sultan. I know not whether thou hast heard of this or no; thy brethren, perhaps, may be unwilling to disperse the news of a conversion bringing so much infamy to all your race. It is possible they are ashamed to own or publish to the world the tidings of their own egregious folly, in giving up their faith to such a cheat as this; a cheat, as one would think, grown stale and fetid enough, to make a man that had the smallest grain of sense recoil, considering how oft your fathers have been bubbled before by such upstart Messiases, such spurious prophets as this.

I commend the wit of Sabbati Sevi, in that he would not stand the brunt of the Grand Signior's archery, or by a vain presumption hope for miracles from Heaven to screen his naked body from a shower of fatal shafts. Had he been so rash, I should esteem him the greatest miracle of stupidity that ever was extant on the earth. If thou hast not been yet informed of these passages, fame will quickly bring them to thy ears, and then my letter will not seem obscure. In the mean time, assure thyself he denied his apostleship to save his life, and this before the Grand Signior, with the chief grandees of the court, where, at the same time, he confessed one God, and Mahomet his messenger. If thou art his disciple, therefore, thou oughtest to be steadfast, and tread in his steps, giving glory to the Eternal One, who has sent prophets into all nations to lead men in the right way, as he sent Moses to the house of Israel.

Nathan, suffer no narrow principles, no partial prejudices to shut up thy soul from the bright splendours of im-

mortal truth which shine on every man. The light of Heaven is not confined to one particular lineage; it is copious, large, and infinite, spreading abroad its universal rays, enlightening all the families and nations on earth.

It is true, I grant, the Omnipotent first sent Moses with the written law to the posterity of Isaac; had they obeyed the sacred institution, it is possible your race had now been blessed above the rest of men; perhaps your fathers would have stretched their conquests far and wide to the utmost limbs of the land, from India to the western shores of Afric, and from the remote borders of the south to Nova Zembla in the arctic circle; then devout princes would have travelled from the four angles of the world, and made long pilgrimages to Jerusalem, there to perform their vows, and offer sacrifices to the King of Heaven.

But alas! your ancestors turned infidels and idolaters even at the very foot of Mount Sinai, whilst the tremendous echoes of the thunders yet were in their ears; they made themselves a calf of gold, and adored the idol of their own workmanship; so did their children worship Adonis, Venus, Diana, and almost all the rabble of the Gentile gods and goddesses; for which reason the wrath of Heaven was kindled against that generation; God roused the mighty monarchs of the East to take up arms, and punish such a wicked race of men. How often was fair Jerusalem sacked, and all the Jews destroyed or carried away captives by Persians, Medes, Assyrians, or the kings of Babylon? How many prophets were sent to tell them of their errors, and reclaim them? But the obdurate sons of Jacob stopped their ears, being resolutely bent on wickedness, the measure of which being once complete, fate signed the edict of your utter ruin: For then came Jesus, the Son of Mary, the true Messiah, who

foretold the irrevocable catastrophe of Jerusalem, which came to pass accordingly in that very age, when the victorious Roman army laid it all in ashes, not so much as sparing the glorious temple of Solomon; ever since which the Jews have been dispersed abroad through all the earth; each nation, city, or province where ye live, account ye execrable fugitives and vagabonds.

In the mean while, the fame of Jesus spread abroad; his heavenly doctrine, perfect life, and mighty miracles, subdued the hearts of men; Christianity took root in the world; it grew and branched itself throughout the continent; the Roman and Grecian empires tamely sat down under the church's shade, within three hundred years, and quickly after other nations fled unto the sacred shelter; but, in process of time, this religion also, like to yours, degenerated into error, superstition, and idolatry, and then God raised up Mahomet, our holy lawgiver; He sent him down the book of glory by the hand of Gabriel, and commanded him to teach it to the house of Israel first, and then to all men that were willing to embrace the undefiled faith; but to chastise with fire and sword the infidels who should oppose his mission, and resist the truth.

How soon the mussulman law took place, and gained ground in Arabia, Persia, Syria, and the adjacent regions of the East! Nothing was able to stand before the warlike troops of true believers. How bold and matchless were the actions of the valiant Hâli! how wise the counsels of sage Omar and Abu Becre! how eloquent and forcible the words of the chaste and generous Osman! The prophet was happy in the company of all the holy caliphs; they fought and conquered all before them.

Whenever the heavenly banner was displayed, trembling and horror seized the infidels; showers of successful arrows straight were sent, against which the uncircum-



ed could not stand ; much less could they sustain the near approach and dreadful shock of our invincible cavalry ; their faint battalions quickly shrunk, and posted from the field ; whilst ours, unmindful of the spoil, pursued the chace, and strewed the ground with slaughtered carcases : of flying miscreants ; conquest attended the true faithful, whenever they drew their swords. Thus, for above these thousand years, has our religion made its fortunate advances on the earth ; and if another law should be revealed, and some new prophet rise to check the farther growth of musliman faith, and undermine the empire of the faithful, we ought not to reflect on Mahomet for this, as though he were an impious seducer, any more than we do on Moses for your calamities, or on Jesus the Son of Mary, for the declining state of Christendom.

It is not impossible but that the Omnipotent may have hidden reserves of precepts yet to be divulged ; he has had his various methods and dispensations in all ages and parts of the world ; neither is it fit for mortal man to limit the Eternal One, or set him rules ; his methods are to us incomprehensible ; he sent Moses, a man bred up in all the sciences and wisdom of the Egyptians ; to Jesus he committed his hidden power and knowledge, and the apostles spake all languages ; but Mahomet could neither write nor read, and yet thou seest his law has proselyted many mighty kingdoms, states, and empires. Who knows but that in future times he will convert the apostate world by some dumb person, who can neither hear nor speak ? or by some blind man, who could never see ? Or it is not impossible but that he may employ some maid of admirable beauty, gifts, and learning, in the mysterious work : So were the Sibyls of old inspired with sacred wisdom and foreknowledge of things to come, all filled with inward blasts of some immortal wind, the

pregnant virgins soon conceived deep mysteries of fate, which they wrote down on leaves of trees; for they were cromites, and twelve in number, as ancient records say; one of them lived at Cuma in Italy, where her cave is shown to travellers at this day. They foretold what should happen in after times, particularly the birth of Jesus the Son of Mary; but they never said a word of Sabati Seri, or of any other Messias to come after the first. These holy maids were had in great veneration by the Gentiles, who gathered up the scattered leaves, whereon they wrote their prophecies, and transcribed them carefully on paper, that so the sacred memoirs might be delivered safe down to posterity.

By what I have said, Nathan, thou mayest perceive that I aim at nothing else but to wean thee from the superstitious fond conceit of your nation, and to make thee sensible, that though God once favoured the Jews with oracles of light and reason, yet they have for many ages forfeited this privilege; since which, he gave the gospel to Jesus the Son of Mary, the alcoran to Mahomet, and at all times has sent messengers and prophets to every nation and people on earth.

There are no partial biases in the divinity which made the worlds; he is an inexhaustible abyss of love, of light, and life, where every creature drinks its fill of natural happiness, according to the different ranks, capacities, and desires of things; he vests the sun with an immortal robe of light, the train of which is borne up by the moon and stars.

When Phœbus is upon the wing by day, his garment covers all the sky; the golden fringes of it dangle to the globe, and trail along in the miry soil, yet never gather the least speck of dirt; they are dipped and plunged in rivers, lakes, and seas, without being wet, and yet they

drink up all the ocean by successive draughts ; this lower world rejoices in the glittering show ; the elements, with every being compounded of them, bask in the welcome rays ; so do the planets above, who take a singular pleasure to fold some part of the illustrious dress about them ; they wrap themselves half up in borrowed light, and then, like western Franks, they foot it to and fro in their beloved walks above, giving the necessary salutes and congrats to each other *en passant*, and to the sedentary signs and fixed stars, to see if any of them mind their courtly garb and mien ; for they are the sun's domestic pages, the favourites of his seraglio ; at other seasons they stand still, perhaps to gaze upon themselves, in contemplation of the majestic figure they make.

So have I seen a proud conceited Spanish trumpeter, after he had blown a levet pretty well, lay down the silver instrument with a disdainful gravity ; his cheeks all swollen with inclosed air, and soul puffed up with arrogance, he struts and curls his black mustachs ; then with big looks, surveys himself from head to foot, casting an eye of scorn upon the silent tube, conscious that he alone can make it sound so well.

Thou wilt say I wander in my discourse as much as those heavenly bodies I am speaking of ; it is true, Na ; than, our thoughts are free, and not confined to rules and forms ; we easily slip from one imagination to another. And since I have made this planetary digression, suffer me now, like them, to run retrograde, and come to the point from which I roved.

Doubtless, each individual being is filled with its essential bliss ; the fire has its specific happiness ; so has the air, the water, and the earth, with all the living generations on it ; and when the Most High distributed the sons of human race through all the various climates,

zones, and provinces, he furnished every region of the globe with gifts and products, riches and delights, agreeable to the inhabitants, with this proviso, that they should live in innocence, justice, and according to reason; from which eternal law, if any people swerved, they should forfeit their privileges, and be subdued, if not extirpated, by some more virtuous nation.

From hence sprung all the revolutions of mighty kingdoms and empires, one successively supplanting another to this day; and the sins of your nation being greater, it seems, than those of any other, God has dispersed you over all the earth, without suffering you to inherit or possess a foot of ground.

If ever therefore fate designs to restore the Jews again to the holy land, wherein their fathers lived, never expect it, till your erroneous minds and vicious manners are reformed; for Palestine was never seated so deliciously for bloody zealots, hypocrites, and cruel usurers to enjoy.

Paris, 2d of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1667.

#### XVII.—To DIGNET OGLOU.

DARIA is a quean, a jilt, and I am once more cured of my dotage: There is no trust in woman's beauty, faith, or wit; they are deceitful as the fruit of asphaltites; they are perfect riddles and paradoxes, and have more unlucky tricks than cross-grained elves or fairies. When a man, overheated by his amorous passion, thinks to embrace a goddess, he meets with Ixion's fate, and only hugs a gaudy cloud or meteor.

I will not make thee sick with a particular rehearsal of my second folly, in being so fond of one who had betrayed me formerly; I will not repeat the vain addresses

I made, the kind obliging things I spoke, nor her deceitful answers ; I will not tell thee how she distilled me into her snares, and led me captive in an amorous circle ; content thyself to know, that I have been twice her cully, and if ever I am the third time, it will be my own fault, as the Italian says. No, my Dgnet, I have done with that false sex ; henceforth for ever I abjure all amorous regards of woman ; I will shun them as I would a pestilence ; I will either shut my eyes, or turn them another way at least, whenever I meet a female ; I will not think of them but with disdain and hatred ; finally, I am off from them to all intents and purposes.

However, as the Arabian proverb says, " That wind blows from an unlucky point of the compass, which wafts no good to somebody ;" so from Daria's false and feigned smiles I reap some benefit ; I have learned a secret which has rid my spirit of a thousand cares, disquiets, and agonies.

In the year 1664 of the Christians hegira, I sent a letter to the noble Kerker Hassan Bassa, our countryman, wherein I informed him of an assassination made upon me in the dark, as I was going to my lodgings, and how I killed the ruffian that attempted on my life ; I told that generous grandee all my jealousies and conjectures on that subject ; how I suspected some of my enemies at the Porte to have a hand in the design, or else that my Sicilian master was concerned in it ; I knew not well what to conclude ; but now I am satisfied it was Daria's husband, who, resenting deeply my former amour with her, which she discovered to him at large, could never be at rest till he saw Paris, where he designed to be the executioner of his own revenge, and lay in wait accordingly for my late returning home ; for he was not ignorant of my lodging. His wife knew nothing of his design, he having pretend-

ed other business at the city ; and it was from accidental words in her discourse that I collected this great secret ; for when I asked her of her husband's health, she told me he was killed at such a time by night, in an alley of Paris, by whom she never yet could learn : But I straight blushed with consciousness and took the hint ; I dropped some necessary careless queries by degrees, and all her answers still confirmed me as to time and place, with other circumstances, that he must be the man I murdered in my own defence so long ago.

I kept this secret locked up in my breast, nor could my doating fondness melt me into such a soft and easy temper, as to betray myself to her ; but I took inward pleasure at the thoughts of my deliverance from that sudden violent death, and from my after cares and fears by this discovery. Henceforward I will suspect no Mussulman, though my enemy, nor shall I be so fearful of my Sicilian master ; no panic terrors shall confine me to my chamber, and make me spend my days in fretting and consuming melancholy ; I will not be surprised when strangers knock at the gate, or when I hear the blustering voices of the parish officers below, or the collectors of the king's revenues ; yet these before were dreadful as the sultan's attescheriff, or fatal warrant, when he demands a bassa's head ; so forcible is jealousy and suspended thoughtfulness, so black the influence even of misgrounded apprehension and mistaken guilt.

My Dgnet, this mortal life is a dark labyrinth of cross events ; bewildered man gropes up and down ; he often trips and stumbles at contingencies ; he strays about in thorny rugged paths, not knowing where he is, or which way to turn himself ; sometimes an *ignis fatuus*, with its deceitful light, misguides him in miry places, fens, and bogs, where he is in danger of being swallowed up, or

leads him to the brink of an high precipice, where if he advance but one step more, he is gone beyond recovery; he falls and dashes himself to pieces on under growing rocks.

Reason is the only clue that can conduct us safe through all the windings of the perilous maze. Heaven grant that thou and I may never let go our hold of this so necessary faculty, until it has conducted us to paradise.

Paris, 15th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1667.

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### XVIII.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

LAST year I gave thee an account of the birth of a young princess of France; now I shall inform thee, that she was baptised on the 21st of this moon. Baptism with the Nazarenes is equivalent to our circumcision; nay, it is something more divine, if we may believe them; they call it the sacrament of initiation, the first mystery of Christian faith; but when it is applied to children of royal extraction, the sons or daughters of kings, it looks more like a ceremony of state than a mystery of religion. However, be it what it will, it is performed with abundance of pomp and magnificence; and at this ceremony it is that every Christian receives his name, which is given by the godfathers and godmothers, that is, persons who stand sureties for the child's education in the Christian religion. This princess was named Maria Theresa by the Duchess Dowager of Orleans, and by the Duke of Enguien.

On the same day the Cardinal Duke of Vendosme had audience of the king and queen, in quality of legate *de latere* from the pope. It seems the King of France had desired the pope to stand godfather to the dauphin, which the good prelate accepting, sent this cardinal as his de-

puty and representative to perform the charge. He is to give the dauphin his name. In the mean while, he stands much upon punctilios, requires vast respects and submissions from the French bishops, and carries himself with as much state as if he were a god or an angel, looking as big as if he were the emperor of the universe; and well he may, since during his legation he has as much power as the pope himself, that sovereign prelate having invested him with all his own paternal full authority, which he would make the world believe is greater than that of earthly kings and emperors: And yet he styles himself the servant of the servants of God; a fine piece of ecclesiastic hypocrisy! The ways of these infidels are double; their practice runs counter to their profession; they would fain appear as saints, when in effect they are little better than devils.

There has been a great alteration lately made in Portugal, the estates of that nation having compelled their king to renounce his government, and confer it on Don Pedro his brother. The Spaniard laughs at this privately, hoping from their intestine animosities to draw occasions of advancing his own interest, and of recovering that crown again.

Accomplished minister, there is nothing new under the moon, but a perpetual circle of the same events. What we admire in this age as a novelty, has been acted over and over in former times. Peace follows war, and war treads close upon the heels of peace. Faith, perfidy, sedition, obedience, virtue, and vice, are the reciprocal offspring of each other. There is nothing fixed or stable, but the world turns round upon eternal vicissitudes.

Paris, 30th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1668.



XIX.—*To ABDEL MELEC MULI OMAR, President of  
the College of Sciences at Fez.*

I RECEIVED thy invaluable dispatch, containing marvelous things, revelations of a sublime rank, mysteries heretofore undiscovered ; yet I was not much surpris'd, having all along presaged some vast improvement of learning from thy accomplished spirit, O thou terrestrial star of the first magnitude, chief in the constellations of the south.

Glory be to God, who from infinite darkness started the eternal bright ideas of the universe, and on the womb of everlasting silence begat the Word by which he formed all things. Doubtless there is no blemish in his works, no botches, knobs, or disproportionate unevennesses ; the world is a perfect beauty.

Were Ptolemy alive, thy system of the heavens would put him to the blush ; and Tycho Brache would sneak out of his planetary frame, by some wild and more than eccentric motion, ashamed that he had been such a botcher in astronomy ; Copernicus himself would sink under the burden of the moon, which the overloaded earth would in revenge let fall upon him, for his unnatural cruelty to his aged mother, in burdening her so long ; and all the world would celebrate thy praise, who hast thus happily rescued heaven and earth from their embarrassments.

Thy thoughts are high and elevated to the heaven of heavens, yet thy humility stoops to the centre of the earth ; but all mankind would be obliged to thee afresh, if thou wouldst vouchsafe to take the middle path, and survey, with thy accustomed accuracy, the surface of this globe, whercon we mortals tread : Geography being already sensible of her elder sister's happiness in thy correction and amendments of the former astronomic schemes,

languishes also for thy supervisal of her own defects and blemishes.

Those that have measured the earth cannot agree in stating her circumference; and there were few in former times who did believe the antipodes. The muzzulmans of India do assert that the earth is supported by eight mighty elephants, and those of Turkey say it rests upon the horns of a great bull: If either of these opinions were to be taken in the literal sense, it would put the dullest philosopher to subannation, or at least a fit of laughter; but doubtless they are allegories, under which are veiled some true and natural secrets.

However, let the globe rest where it will, on bulls, or bears, or elephants, or camels, dromedaries, horses, or the back of Atlas, as the gentiles did affirm, I would fain know, methinks, how large a space of land we have to tread upon, and what proportion is allotted to the sea.

It is true we have a common notion of four quarters of dry land, Asia, Africa, Europe, and America. Yet this is quarrelled at by those of later times, who add a fifth, which they call Magellanica, or the Southern Unknown Earth. From immemorial times our fathers were acquainted with the three first divisions or precincts of the globe; but the two last were but of late discovered, since the improvement of navigation, and the invention of the compass.

There is a vulgar tradition every where in vogue, that after Noah's flood Asia fell to the share of Shem and his posterity, Afric to Cham, and Europe to Japhet: Whether this be true or no cannot be proved, but is wholly owing to conjecture; however, this is certain, that if it were so, there have been mighty changes in the inheritances of Noah's offspring, and alterations of their several limits; insomuch as now they seem to be in part blended

and mixed together, or at least shuffled from one to another.

Those who lived in the middle ages made but two divisions of the globe, viz. Asia and Europe; and in this they also differed; for some made Africa only a province or part of the former, persuading themselves that they were anciently joined together, though afterwards separated by a violent irruption of the Atlantic sea by the straits of Gibraltar, which before was a narrow isthmus or neck of land; but from the time that bank was washed away, the Mediterranean sea derived its origin. Others made Africa a part of Asia, they not being absolutely parted by any sea, though some Egyptian kings and Roman emperors attempted to make a canal between the Mediterranean and Red Sea.

A third sort divided the known part of the world into Asia, Europe, Africa and Egypt; whilst a fourth placed Egypt to the account of Asia, making the river Nile the boundary between it and Africa; but this was incommodious, in regard it left that part of Egypt on the west of the Nile to Africa. Such was the confusion of the ancient Greek and Roman geographers.

As for America, it takes its name from Americus Vesputius a Florentine, who made the second voyage to discover it; for it was first descried by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, in the year of the Christians hegira 1442, by the order and at the charge of Ferdinand, king of Arragon and Castile. This part of the world is divided into two mighty empires; the northern, or that of Mexico, and the southern, or that of Peru.

Magellanica, or the southern unknown land, derives its name from Ferdinand Magellan, the first that ever discovered it, in the year 1520, when he sailed quite round the globe. About five-and-forty years afterwards, Francis

Drake, an Englishman, touched upon the same coasts ; and twelve years after him, Thomas Candish, one of his countrymen ; likewise Oliver Van Noord, a Hollander, undertook the same voyage ; but none made such advances in this new discovery, as a certain Spaniard called Ferdinand de Quier.

God knows what strange and unexpected novelties this country might afford, if men were once acquainted with it. This may be the sanctuary of the ten tribes of Israelites which were led away captives by Salmanasser king of Assyria ; or perhaps the inhabitants of this country are of another race than that of Noah and Adam. We may from them, it is possible, derive new lights as to the pre-existence of human souls. Who knows but they have records more exact and ancient than the Indians and Chippewas ? Be it how it will, I am clear for new discoveries. There is a certain specific boldness in my spirit, which prompts me to invade the pretended modesty of nature ; I long to furl the veil which hides so many secrets, and with a philosophic confidence, were I in power, I would rumple up the cautious coverings of such desirable wonders.

Oh that some godlike monarch in this age would in royal bounty equip a navy, and man them with the most expert and resolute mariners on earth, with vessels to transport an army of land soldiers, with tenders to carry meat, drink, apparel, and other necessaries for so vast an expedition ! Surely the event would answer expectation, the gains would far transcend the cost, the honour infinitely surpass the peril ; and all our known familiar world would be obliged by such a fortunate undertaking.

O Sage Omar, it depends on thee to bring this thing to pass ; start but the proposal to some mighty sovereign, thy recommendation will be of force ; thou wilt be more than a Columbus, Magellan, or Pizarro ; in fige, thou.

wilt wind up the searches of this inquisitive age, and put a stop to future scrutinies.

I only hint the thing; do thou pursue it, and all generations shall celebrate thy fame. God inspire thee with fresh ardours.

Paris, 7th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1668.

XX.—To OSMAN ADROONETH, *Astrologer to the Sultan at Adrianople.*

OLD Ptolemy was much out of his bias; his wild irregular fancy, drunk with the lees of Aristotle's dark opinion and conceit, stumbled and fell asleep upon the thought of the earth's being centre to the universe, and then the rest of the world seemed to run round his giddy head; he often strove to lift his heavy noddle up, to see whether it were so or not; but the besotting load of prepossession weighed him down again; he slumbered, dreamed, and snored aloud, stretched out at large upon the fair chimera.

The studious candidates of truth and science, by his example, fell to the same riot in philosophy, and continued the debauch for many ages; till, too much surfeited and cloyed with such a fullsome entertainment, bold Tycho Brache rubs up his eyes, and wakes the company with a new system of the mighty frame. Then all began to start and rouse, as at some prodigy; his heavenly gim-cracks pleased the palate of the age; his epicycles, concentrics, perigees, and apogees, with all the rest of his gay whim-whams, were received with general applause, till the more excellent Copernicus appeared with something newer still; and then the blundering Dane, abashed, slipped off the stage, without so much as taking his leave.

The astronomers soon fell in love, and paid implicit a-

doration to the idol which Copernicus set up ; and it was but reason, since they had never seen a fairer or a juster scheme of the world before.

Yet every age improves itself in knowledge on the ruins of the former ; and thus, what Ptolemy never found out, nor Tycho Brache or Copernicus could mend or match, if now they were alive, is very lately discovered by the incomparable Abdel Melec Muli Omar, president of the College of Sciences at Fez.

The happy Musa Abu'l Yatuftan, professor of philosophy there, first started the proposal of a mathematical experiment ; and laying heads together, the primate of Moresco doctors, father of the African alfaquis living, found a true demonstration in it.

I have lately received a dispatch from that renowned prelate, with an inclosed model of this planetary machine ; a copy of which I send thee, drawn by my own hand : It represents the original to a point. Examine it well, and thou wilt find it is much more regular and exact than any of those antiquated schemes, and answers all the questions of astronomy without the least apparent blunder : Besides, it has a perfect symmetry and proportion in every part ; it makes the world appear a complete beauty ; whereas the frame which Tycho Brache made was all deformed with wild unevennesses ; nor was the system of Copernicus without a manifest botch, in making the small orb of the moon alone to interfere with that of the earth, whilst all the other planets circulate in their own entire and solitary spheres, without an interloper to disturb them.

Besides, he makes the earth an atlas to the moon, whilst this poor weary globe is forced, in his opinion, to strudge yearly round the zodiac with the vast burden of Diana on its shoulders.

If it be so, it is no wonder that the earth so often faints and trembles under the mighty load ; henceforth we need not lay the blame of earthquakes to Enceladus, as if the drowsy snoring giant, turning his monstrous bulky corpse from one side to the other, were the sole cause of these convulsions, when mortals reel and stagger as they walk upon the surface, when trees and mountains rock as in a cradle, and whole cities are sometimes swallowed up.

No ; let poor Enceladus sleep on, and take what rest he can in his infernal prison. There was no danger of his ever stirring again after he had been once thoroughly souced in Lethe's all-benumbing streams. Copernicus is only in the fault ; whenever we feel these fatal heavings of the globe ; it was too unmerciful a task he imposed upon it, especially in its old age.

It would have grumbled in its early days, and sturdy youth, had it been thus severely used by Orpheus, Homer, Hermes Trismegistus, or any other of the primitive sages ; but now to be thus roughly handled by an upstart infidel in its declining years, when three-parts of its marrow is decayed, and its once potent nerves and sinews are shrunk, its liver wasted, and every vital winding away, almost broke its heart.

Therefore these African sages, in duty to their aged mother the earth, have found a way to free her from the burden of the moon in her decrepid state, and yet to make the sun the centre of the world ; adjusting, at the same time, with accurate laws, and an unblemished order, the motions, stations, and various postures of the planets.

This happy revelation in astronomy is not to be divulged in public writings, lest some inquisitive curious traveller, ambitious Nazarene, or envious Jew, should chance

to light upon the sacred scheme, and boast himself the inventor of it.

Let it be only communicated to learned faithful musfulmans of the first rank ; for such celestial mysteries ought not to be prostituted to the vulgar. Tell not the little Jasmir Sgire Rugiel of it ; for if thou dost, all the Frank merchants at Aleppo soon shall be made privy to the matchless secret. Be it a perpetual arcanum in the breasts of sublime men, exalted souls, friends of God, and little less than prophets ; and be it so, till all the sages of the East and South are first made sensible of it, and able to defend it against the vain attempts of the uncircumcised nations ; then let it be promulgated in Alla's name throughout the globe, to the eternal honour of God, and glory of his prophet, who could neither write nor read, yet has disciples to whom alone the purest reformation of the universe is owing.

Do but survey with an indifferent look the last and loveliest portraiture of the world that ever was made by man ; fix thine admiring eyes on the magnific seat and palace of the sun ; consider, at the same time, the true and equal forms, dimensions, distances, and mutual interfections of the ambient orbs, without the smallest blur or blot in all the eternal frame ; then tell me thy opinion, whether thou canst not calculate nativities, erect all manner of schemes, make almanacks, tell credulous men their future fortunes, appoint the eclipses of the sun and moon, set Venus and Mercury together by the ears, or stir up furious Mars to make a hurly-burly in the heavens and elements ; or, if thou canst not wheedle the four curmudgeon Saturn into a soft obliging humour, or fret the noble Jupiter to madness, by a damned conjunction with his mortal enemy ; and a thousand more astrological enterprises ; tell me, I say, whether thou canst not per-



form all this and more, as well by the inclosed effigies of the world, as by the old thread-bare, weather-beaten, worm-eaten Italian clockwork of Ptolemy, or the later inventions of Tycho Brache and Copernicus.

It will now no longer be a secret how those birds dispose themselves, which at a certain time of the year are seen to gather in mighty troops, and fly directly upward out of human sight, not one of the whole species being left behind, or found on any part of the earth, until the moon has rolled full six times round the zodiac; when they return again in equal companies into this globe, each species to its native region; for the intelligent fowls exactly know the hour in which the earth does in its yearly circulation intersect the neighbouring orb of the moon, and then they snatch the opportunity to quit the attractive atmosphere, and take the air of that adjacent planet.

I have a great deal more to say on this subject, which I will reserve for another letter. In the mean time, thou venerable star-gazer, adieu, and remember to be private.

Paris, 7th of the 3d Moon, of the year 1668.

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XXI.—*To the Venerable MUFTI, Principal Support of Learning and true Science.*

THE orders of thy sanctity came like a message from heaven, surprising me at once with equal pleasure and astonishment. Every line increased my rapture. And now I thought I had no more to wish for in the world, since the great patriarch of the faithful has condescended to embrace the advice of so mean a slave as Mahmut. It has been my passionate desire to see knowledge flourish in

the renowned Ottoman empire, that the infidels may no longer reproach us with ignorance and barbarism. This was the reason that I so often importuned thy predecessor to encourage the translation of histories into the Turkish language. Now thou art pleased to begin this glorious work, and to honour me, by requiring my instructions in the management of it ; nay, thou hast commanded me to lay the foundation of so illustrious an enterprise, in presenting thee a pattern or model of this great work, containing an historical epitome of the four great monarchies, with a brief series of the most remarkable and famous translations, changes, and other events in the world, with reference to the nation and age wherein they happened.

As to the advice thou demandest of me, I think it would be for the honour and benefit of the mussulmans, that a complete history of the world should be collected out of the most ancient and sincere writers, and digested into annals, from the very beginning of time, down to the reign of our present emperor, the august sovereign of the whole earth ; that so whatsoever has been done on earth worthy of memory may be ranked in its proper time and place, and we may not grope any longer in the dark when we would know in what year or age any famous warrior or monarch lived or died, or when any renowned city was built, besieged, taken, and destroyed, and by whom all these things were done ; with many other useful memoirs, in which the Ottomans are now wanting.

In the beginning of this work, it will be absolutely necessary to have recourse to the chronicles of the Indians, Persians, and Egyptians, and to the writings of Orpheus, Homer, Thales, Zeno, and others of Greece, Phœnicia, and Thrace ; for, though the Nazarenes of the West despise the authority of these authors, and calumniate all

for fables and romances which was delivered before the first olympiad, yet the more impartial inhabitants of the East, whether Christians or Mussulmans, reject nothing which has the undoubted stamp of antiquity, but rather seek to unriddle the mysterious expressions of the poets and philosophers, who strove industriously to cover all their knowledge and traditions under dark enigmas, figures, and parables, that so the divine secrets of antiquity might not be profaned by the rude and unpolished vulgar.

It was ever the maxim of some ancient sages and politicians thus to keep the people in ignorance of past times, the better to assure their dominion and authority over them; they only revealed what was obvious to every man's sense, the manifest and visible influences of the heavenly bodies of the sun, moon, and stars, the natures of plants and animals, with whatsoever else was liable to any man's eye and apprehension; but as to the more abstruse and less conspicuous works of nature, they were like the secrets of state kept under a veil.

Yet there wanted not men of wisdom in other parts of the world who strove to unfold all things, and render mankind familiar with whatsoever fell under human intellect. Among these, the Indians and Chinese deserve the first place, who were never covetous of the gifts of nature, but sought to improve all those of their nations in the knowledge of the arts and sciences, and especially in the system of ancient history. These people shut up themselves from the rest of the world for many ages, fearing least commerce might corrupt the simplicity of their primitive laws and institutions. Only Alexander the Great, and before him Semiramis Queen of the Assyrians, had ever access to the Indies in old time; and China was never open till of late, when their too potent neigh-

bours the Tartars broke through their famous wall, and subdued the whole empire ; and their business was not with books but with men.

For these reasons we may not wonder that the Indian bramias and the bonzis of China deliver an account of the origin of the world, and the next succeeding ages, so far beyond the epochas of all other historians, especially these in the West.

For events of later date, the compilers of this work may make use of such historians as have written the annals of several nations since the first olympiad.

If thou knowest not what an olympiad means, it is the form of computation used in the ancient Grecian hegira, every olympiad containing four years ; and the first of these olympiads began in the year of the world 3228 ; at which time Chorebus of Elis signalised himself, by winning the first race that ever was run at the olympic games. These games were celebrated every olympiad, and all the youth of Greece flocked to them, to try their skill in running, wrestling, and other manly exercises.

About this time historians began to write partially, and the truth could hardly be discerned from the fabulous errors with which it was adulterated ; yet this rather proceeded from a national emulation, than from a design to corrupt the ancient belief. However, thou mayest give credit to Thucydides, who in the 86th olympiad began to write his history of the war in Peloponnesus between the Lacedemonians and those of Athens, which war continued one-and-twenty years, as that author testifies, who wrote the annals of it from the beginning to the end ; and, among other remarkable passages, which he is very exact in recounting, he mentions a famous eclipse of the sun that happened in the first year of that war, and was so great that the stars appeared at noon-day in the sky.

Plutarch also speaks of this eclipse, telling us, that Pericles, prince of the Athenians, being at sea when the sun was thus darkened, and perceiving the master of the vessel in a great fright, as at some prodigy, he threw his cloak over the man's face, and asked him, "If he was afraid of that, or looked upon it as a bad omen?" and when the master answered, "No," Pericles replied, "What difference is there between this eclipse of the sun and that, since both are caused by the interposition of a veil between the sun and thine eyes; only that veil is larger than my cloak, it being the moon which covers that glorious lamp from our sight."

Much about the same time lived Herodotus and Helanicus, two famous historians, men of integrity and credit, and Hippocrates the renowned physician of Athens. These are worthy to be translated into the Turkish language, as are also Xenophon and Polybius, who wrote after them. They all, except the last, lived in the time of the Persian monarchy, and therefore are most likely to deliver down a true account of the memorable events that happened during that formidable empire.

As for the Macedonian monarchy, the most eminent writers were Curtius, Arrianus, and Diodorus Siculus; but this last is frequently mistaken in his chronology, and therefore ought to be corrected by the others. Plutarch also must be consulted, and Josephus the Jew, with Strabo, Appian, Livy, Justin, and Pausanias; for they either serve to illustrate one another, where they treat of the same matters, or else the one carries on the thread of history where the other left off; and therefore thou needest not wonder that I name so many authors, since they are worthy of credit, and absolutely necessary to the completing an entire history of the world; whereas there are a rabble of other writers who are scarce worth the

naming, much less their authority to be trusted to, in compiling an universal history, which is to give a new lustre to the Ottoman empire, and raise its credit in the learned world.

As for the Roman empire, it will be necessary to make use of Josephus, Tacitus, Suetonius, Philo, Xiphilius, Zonaras, Ammianus Marcellinus, Velicius Paterculus, Seneca, Florus, Livy, and Suidas.

These will be sufficient materials with which the translators, scribes, and compilers may accomplish the illustrious undertaking; the encouragement whereof I again earnestly recommend to thy liberality and munificence.

What concerns the injunction thou hast laid on me to draw a pattern or model of this great work, in presenting thee with a brief abstract of the rise and fall of the four monarchies, with such memorable events as will be proper to direct the undertakers in the method of digesting this universal history, I will reserve it for another letter, not having those books by me which are requisite to assist me in this affair.

In the mean time, I pray Heaven prosper this noble enterprise, and grant that thou mayest live the space of many olympiads, to see the effect of thy bounty, when this universal history being finished, shall instruct the mussulmans, and defeat the calumnies of the uncircumcised.

Paris, 2d of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1668.

## B O O K II.

LETTER I.—*To MEHEMET, an exiled Eunuch at As-cair in Egypt.*

THY sufferings pierce my heart; I owe thee pity on the score of human nature, and more compassion as thou art

a muskman; but where is the tongue or pen that can describe the sympathy of friends? Canst thou in a desponding manner cast thyself upon thy bed, there to exhale, in melancholy sighs, that pungent sorrow, which can find no other vent, unless those vapours of the spleen condense to showers of tears? Canst thou do this, and I remain insensible all the while? No; I am a perfect echo to thy saddest groans; and when thou weepest, my heart is not a stone that spatters back again the drops that fall on it, but it is like clay that softens with the gentle solemn distillation. Believe that I sweat blood when thou dissolvest in tears; I am not capable of moderation toward my friend; my love, my joy, my grief and anger, are all excessive, when such an one as thou occasionest them. It is equal pleasure to live or die in this magnetic point; for souls of friends are perfect unisons. Then, if thou hast a spark of love for Mahmut, do not kill me with thy sad complaints; for whilst I hear that thou art thus abandoned to misfortune and despair, how can I live without perpetual deaths, more terrible than what we all must undergo by the course of nature? Dost thou delight to make a constant martyr of me?

Thou art bred a courtier, and so was I; our infant blood was seasoned with the Grand Signior's bread and salt; we equally imbibed the manners, habits, customs, maxims, and the pride of the seraglio, with the pilaw, the milk, forbets, and other nourishment of our early years; since which we have seen the various revolutions of mighty kingdoms, states, and empires; we have beheld the invincible Emperor of China fall a victim to the perfidy of his slaves, and to the more propitious fortune of the Tartars; after another manner was the glory of the British monarchy eclipsed; but no foreign story can match the barbarous massacres of our majestic sultans,

Mustapha, Osman, and Ibrahim, all within our memory.

Oh Mehemet ! we have lived too long after these spoils of royal blood. How can we repine at our own private losses and afflictions, whilst we do but sip the flat insipid relics of those tragical sprightly potions, brewed for all the palates of the greatest princes ! Henceforth let us live as if we were among the dead ; let us hear and see, feel, taste, and smell these outward objects *en passant*, without being sensible what we do or suffer ; let us anticipate, by a wise prevention, the last stroke of death, by dying every moment.

Go to the pyramids, my Mehemet, or would to God I could go thither for thee, there to contemplate the fate of human glory, the mock grandeur of this world ; consider all the race of the Egyptian kings who built these costly and magnificent structures, or their fathers for them, who filled the hollow piles with silver, gold, and precious stones, whilst, with their magic laws, they lifted legions of spirits, dwelling in the air, fire, earth, and water, obliging them to guard the wealthy sepulchres ; and tell me then what thou canst find in those superannuated vaults ? nothing but stench and darkness. Old Time has filched away the slighter glories of the place, and his younger brother Avarice has plundered all the rest, which was the more substantial part ; he could have done no less in common good manners than take the leavings of the heir, the elder of the two. The great Al-maimun thought to have the gleanings of their harvest, but he found the gain would never exceed the cost.

But what is become of all the founders of these astonishing fabrics ? Look in the tomb of Cheops, who is supposed to build the greatest of the pyramids, and thou wilt find not the least relic of his ashes, or if thou should-



est, it will be impossible to distinguish them from the common dust of other mortals, though his meanest slaves; so mutable is human glory, so inconstant all the smiles of fortune.

Do but reflect on all the glorious conquests of Alexander the Great, and on the triumphant entry he made in Babylon, when the chariot which carried him was an epitome of all the riches which the Indies could afford, and yet that chariot ought to be esteemed but one degree before his hearse, which in a very few days, with an obscurity beneath the merits of so great a victor, conveyed him to his grave.

Consider Cæsar, who after four-and-twenty battles, wherein he always got the day, was drawn in a triumphant chariot to the Capitol by forty elephants, yet now his name is hardly thought of.

So Epaminondas thought to outvie the world in his magnificent insults, yet all this glorious pageantry ended in dust and ashes. Aurelian led the graces captive with Zenobia, yet he himself at last became the prisoner of death. The pompous galley of Cleopatra, when she celebrated the Sicilian triumph, served but to mend the poop of Charon's boat, when she was to be ferried to Elysium. So the proud Sesostris, whose coach was drawn by four vanquished kings, at last was fain to owe his uncouth funeral to four fordid slaves, who stole his naked corpse away from the designed revenge of factious eunuchs, and buried it in a heap of camels dung.

But where is the pen or pencil that will to the life describe the unmatched cavalcade of Pompey, when by a prosperous chemistry he had extracted all the richest spirits and essences of eastern wealth to grace his entry into Rome?

The front of the procession dazzled every eye with the

strange lustre of diamonds and carbuncles mixed in chequer-wise ; an oriental figure, or rather the substance of all Asia in epitome : Then followed the image of the crescent moon in massy gold, with a train of mountains of the same metal, whereon were woods of jet, vines whose grapes were entire sapphires, and animals all of porphyry, grazing on fields of verdant amethysts.

To sanctify this glorious show, the golden images of Jupiter, Mars, and Pallas came next in sight, with thirty crowns of gold, borne up by the chief captains of his army, as if so many kingdoms were designed for their rewards ; and because gods and goddesses should not want a temple, five hundred slaves bore up a fane, built all of massy silver, washed with gold ; and at the back of this appeared the statue of the conqueror, on which no eye could fix, being crusted over with hyacinths and pearls.

Behold, my Mehemet, an exuberance of human glory ; yet wonder not to see a man come after all, a mortal man, I say, made radiant as the sun with borrowed jewels ; and to complete this fading triumph, read these letters, all pure jaspers, on his chariot-wheels, " Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Palestine, India, and the Desarts of Arabia." All these were the conquests of this triumphant warrior, and yet his destiny insulted over him. Peer Pompey ! thou art gone, and all thy mighty territories in the East are now possessed by Sultan Mahomet, our glorious sovereign.

And what need thou and I repine, after we have seen all this ? Let Asdrubal astonish Carthage with the glory of four public triumphs, yet that theatre of his honour quickly proves the stage whereon he was degraded, stripped stark naked, and in triumph led away by death. So Marius, after he had been exalted to the top of human

felicity on earth, was seen all naked lying in a stinking ditch.

What is become of Nero's silver gallery in the Capitol? or the pendant gardens of Semiramis, which cost no less than twenty millions of gold? Where is now the glittering hall of Atabalipa, King of Peru, whose pavement was of sapphires? or the gardens of Cyrus, fenced round with pales of gold? or Cæsar's fountains garnished with dryads of the same metal? Where is the ivory palace of Meneclaus, or the crystal louvre of Drusus? All these things are vanished with their founders.

How wise and happy then was Saladine, the great and most invincible conqueror of Asia, who triumphed over himself, and in his victorious return caused a shirt to be carried before him on the point of a spear, with this proclamation, "That after all his glories, he should carry nothing to the grave but that poor shirt!" So Adrian, a Roman emperor, to qualify the excessive joys of his high fortune, celebrated his own funeral, and caused his coffin to be borne before him when he was to make a public cavalcade through Rome: This was a sacred triumph, an heroic insult over himself and death.

Let thou and I, my friend, imitate these sage examples, and ever have the image of death before our eyes; then we shall never mourn for the vain trifles we have lost, or covet what we never enjoyed; but being ever content with what our destiny allots us, shall pass our time away in a divine tranquillity.

Mehemet, thou wilt find this to be a profitable and true experiment; try it, and the issue will convince thee more than a thousand counsellors.

Paris, 12th of the 5th moon, of the year 1668.

II.—*To MOHAMMED, the illustrious Eremit of Mount  
Uriel in Arabia the Happy.*

I LODGE in a house near the wall of Paris, which gives me a daily opportunity of surveying out of my window the adjacent fields; these extend themselves in a plain for the space of a league or thereabouts, and then the eye is arrested by a long ridge of rising ground, a row of hills or hillocks, not meriting the lofty name of mountains, yet high enough to put a valley out of shape, and make the horizon crump-backed.

These hills are covered thick with woods and groves, among whose verdant shady tops some stately palaces lift up their glittering crests, and make a sociable pleasant figure in those solitudes.

This prospect represents so much to the life the valley of Admoim in Arabia, the place of my nativity, that I could as well grasp coals of fire with naked hands, and not be burnt, as cast my eye out of my window on this lovely landscape, and not be inflamed with secret passions for my native soil, the place where I first drew the vital air. It is a perfect magnet to my spirit, wheresoever I am, attracting all my wishes, inclinations, and desires. Methinks the eastern winds at certain hours waft to my ravished ears the whispers of my countrymen; methinks sometimes I see the faces of my kindred and their rural train; I hear their voices, and converse familiarly with them, as though they were present: Such is the magic of strong desire and sympathy; it steals the soul away from itself, and with sweet violence unites it to the beloved object, though at never so great a distance. Thus when my wandering thoughts have taken up their residence for a while in that delicious vale where I was born, a far more powerful magnet draws them to thy cave, my-

sterious solitary, mirror of virtues, exemplary guide of such as consecrate themselves to God.

Glory to him that was before all time, the Father of eternal ages; he changes not, yet is the source of indefatigable and unwearied revolutions; he is the only independent, true, and self-existent being; the uncreated Essence from whom all other beings derive their origin and conservation; he is the prop and basis of the universe; he is but one, the primitive unity, and cannot be divided into fractions; yet every species and individual being in the world participates a share of his divinity. Immortal praises exhale from all creatures, and ascend like clouds of incense before the throne of his adorable majesty, or like vapours which the grateful earth returns in a hot summer's day, by way of acknowledgment for the benefits perpetually flowing on her from the sun. So all the elements respire their thanks to him that made them; the firmament expands itself, and bows down to the brims of this low globe; sun, moon, and stars do stoop and kiss the floor of the earth, in token of profound humility and devotion to the immortal Source of Light; only ungrateful man repays the bounty of the Omnipotent with neglects, contempts, affronts, and blasphemies; I mean the general part of human race, excepting always from this charge the just, the innocent, and pious. Were it not for such as these, the divine patience would be tired with the continual profanations of vain mortals.

Oh venerable sylvan! thou art the only pacific victim of this sinful age; thy constant self-denials, mortifications, abstinences, and the whole system of thy accomplished sanctity, stop the wrath of Heaven from falling in large cataracts on mankind; when the Eternal Eye beholds thy virtues, it drops down tears of love and mercy on the earth, glad that a son of Adam yet survives not stained

with vice. Thou art the effectual propitiation for the sinful world; when storms and tempests of impetuous winds, when lightning, thunder, hail, or rain disturb the air, or earthquakes menace more effectual tragedies to the earth, I think of thee, the favourite of Heaven, and then repose in full security; thy very idea is my shelter from all evils; I shroud myself under the shade of thy inviolated beard, over which the razor never passed; I take sanctuary in the umbrella of thy arms, when stretched in fervent orisons; thy remembrance is my certain refuge in calamity.

I am impregnated with sacred emulations of thy virtue; I burn with fervent passionate desires to become thy disciple; I languish to withdraw myself from this vain world, and from the contagious society of mortals. How happy is the life that is led in quiet solitude! where the soul can feel herself, and being awakened to a sense of her immortal strength, rouses and vigorously shakes off the heavy clogs of sleep and death; whilst the divine afflatus gently breathing on the intellect, and fanning the oppressed sparks of reason, which lay smothering under a heap of errors, lusts, affections, and unlimited desires, kindles the mind into a perfect flame of light, which soon consumes the rubbish of bodily pleasures, dissipates the smoke and mists of pampered flesh and blood, and then a man becomes all radiant within, shining with unclouded splendours.

We mortals seem to be ranked in a middle state, between the separate spirits and beasts; our virtues make us like the former, our vices like the latter; for when a man has quite subdued his appetites, and reason sits triumphant in her throne, he is like an angel, living above the race of his mortality; he does not, with the Stagysite, place virtue in a medium, or mark the excess of good-

acts in the predicament of vice, but makes direct and swift advances to the zenith of heroic generosity, scorning to halt or make lame mongrel capitulations with himself, as if he were afraid of being too good.

I would ask a peripatetic, whether it be a virtue or a vice in him that, stomaching the enormous villanies of wicked men, boils up with an excessive vehement anger? or whether a man can err in loving God too much, or in conceiving too violent a sorrow for his past offences, or who can be too thankful for the favours of Heaven? No; the farther distance virtue keeps from this cold earthly mediocrity, the brighter is its splendour. And so on the other side, the greater is the barbarism, brutality, and infernal stamp of vice, by how much more remote it is from this indifference. In a word, virtue and vice are two contrary extremes; so piety is diametrically opposite to profaneness, intemperance to sobriety, fortitude to cowardice, incontinence to chastity, avarice to bounty, modesty to impudence, pride to humility, enmity to friendship, &c. Now the mediums between these extremes are, hypocrisy between virtue and vice, superstition between piety and profaneness, bashfulness between modesty and impudence, and so of the rest.

Yet after all it is necessary to observe a medium in those things which pertain to mortal life, and to the perpetuation of mankind; such are meats, drinks, natural passions of the body and mind, proceeding from the alternate sense of pleasure and pain; so when we are pressed with hunger and thirst, we ought not presently to covet the plentiful tables and superfluous banquets of the great, but rather such a diet, as being easily prepared, may satisfy the cravings of our nature, without nauseating and giving us a surfeit. To this end, the divine providence has scattered up and down the surface of this globe an in-

finite variety of roots, herbs, fruits, seeds, with all sorts of corn and pulse; the cattle afford us plenty of milk, the bees are no niggards of their honey, the fountains, rivers and lakes abound with ever-springing fresh supplies of sweet refreshing water; we also have the use of salt, oil, wine, and other exhilarating beverages; that being content with so many benefits and enjoyments, we might prolong our lives in this world by sobriety, as in a most pleasant garden or paradise of health.

But alas! instead of gratefully acknowledging the bounty of Heaven, and pregnant fertility of the earth, instead of sitting mannerly down at the table, which God has spread and covered for us with such a train of festival dainties, we break the rules of hospitality, and rushing violently on the creatures under his protection, we kill and slay at pleasure, turning the banquet to a cruel massacre; being transformed into a temper wholly brutal and voracious, we glut ourselves with flesh and blood of slaughtered animals. Oh! happy he that can content himself with herbs and other genuine products of the earth, that sleeps as well in a solitary cave, upon a bed of moss or leaves, as in a palace on a couch of down! he never wants, because he never desires what is not in his power; he is not burdened with a crowd of servants and flattering retainers, nor his repose disturbed with early and late addresses of pretended friends, officious sycophants, importunate petitioners, and other fretting business of the world.

Why should I longer then demur or hesitate? What hinders me from presently embracing a course of life that promises so much happiness? a discipline that will at once free me from a thousand tyrannies of imperious lusts and hostile passions? I shall then have no need of money,



or the help of cross grained servants; I shall not want a multitude of goods, the needless pageantry of superfluous ornaments, to make a dazzling figure, and draw the eyes of people to a reverend admiration; I shall be free from sottish drowfiness and turbulent dreams; my lungs will in my sleep respire the air with ease, whilst gentle slumbers, mixed with happy visions, shall transport my soul to unknown worlds; no fevers, gouts, or dysenteries shall invade my health, nor magisterial menaces of empirics bespeak my certain death, unless I will patiently submit to all the needless tortures they are contriving for me, and tamely swallow down their new-invented poisons, and be racked to death in hopes of ease and life; from all which horrid circumstances, a slender innocent diet, not stained with blood of any animal, will set me free.

Holy eremit, the idea I have of this manner of life makes a profound and durable impression on my soul; I am ravished with the sentiments of Plato and Pythagoras, and resolutely bent to undergo the discipline of their philosophy; I will first endeavour to rid myself of vain affections, habits, and profane negotiations of the earth; I will gradually die to all concupiscence and bodily pleasure, that so I may by equal steps revive to the contemplation of celestial things; then being free from every spot and stain contracted in the days of my security and carelessness, my thoughts and works will be acceptable to God, who in return will certainly infuse into my defecate mind a secret virtue, the magic of this visible world, which purifying my soul yet farther, will prepare it for the last and highest gift of the eternal bounty to our race whilst in this life, to wit, a power of doing supernatural things, and of foretelling events to come.

Do thou but pray it may be so, and all the powers of

hall can never prevail against me; for thou hast the ear of the Omnipotent.

Paris, 3d of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1668.

III.—To HAMET, REIS EFFENDI, *Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

IN this time of wars with Nazarenes, when the Ottoman fury is roused and provoked by infidels, it will not be amiss to expose the nakedness of Europe to the supreme divan, which is on earth the close committee of the court above.

I choose to address my letter to thee, in compliance with my former orders, wherein thou seemedst passionately desirous to know the present state of Christendom. God give thee a perpetual serenity, scribe of the scribes; mayest thou never be troubled with a running eye, a shaking hand, or the toothach. As for me, I am a perfect magazine of diseases, a walking hospital, the school of Æsculapius, where the necessary god has scope to vent his skill on all the various kinds of maladies which afflict our mortal race; gouts, fevers, cramps, and horrid dysenteries, are as common with me as my daily diet.

However, amidst all these afflictions I serve the Grand Signior and my friends with a cordial alacrity, never grudging to sacrifice my ease and health to the interest of true believers.

The face of Europe is much changed since the decline of the Roman empire, and the usurpations of the popes; that once mighty monarchy is now shrunk into a very narrow compass, being shut up within the confines of Germany, which formerly was but a province of the ancient empire: All Italy is revolted; so are the Swisses

and the United States of the Low Countries; the Hans-Towns, which in times past paid homage to the emperor, have now shaken off the yoke, and are become independent commonwealths; Transylvania plays fast and loose with him, according as their interest requires; "Livonia laughs at his menaces, as appears by the answer they sent to Charles V. when he demanded their submissions, and that they would return to their native allegiance, otherwise threatening them with fire and sword; for all the reply they made was, that they knew the emperor's horse would be foundered before he could reach the frontiers of their country.

It is a general observation, that since the reign of Rodolph I. above two hundred principalities and states have fallen off from the empire; and those that yet continue in their obedience, I mean the electoral princes, claim so many privileges, stand so much upon punctilios and prerogatives, that there remains now little more of the imperial majesty and power save the bare title and outward pomp. It is remarkable, that within these three hundred years no less than nine German emperors have been murdered, and many more have been deposed and banished. To sum up all in a few words; if we survey the present state of the German empire accurately, if we pry narrowly into its true circumstances, we shall find, that after all the clatter of his noisy titles, the emperor can call nothing properly his own but his hereditary estate in Austria, which is hardly equivalent to the territories of some lords whom he calls his vassals.

The Germans, in general, are a rude unpolished people, greedy of novelties, inconstant, rash, perfidious, and very phlegmatic, much addicted to unnatural lusts, and incestuous copulations. It is recorded of Barbara the empress, wife to Sigismund, another Messalina, that af-

ter her husband's death, her confessor advising her to reform her manners, and live more chafte, like the turtle, ſhe answered, " If I muſt imitate the life of birds, why not of a ſparrow as well as a turtle ?" Her brother Frederick was much ſuch another ; for at ninety years of age he murdered his wife for the ſake of a ſtrumpet ; and being adviſed to repent, and think of his grave, he ſaid, " I am now ſtudying my epitaph, which I deſign ſhall be comprized in theſe words :

" This is my way to hell : I know not what I ſhall find there ; What I have left behind me I know. I abounded in all delights, whereof I carry nothing with me ; neither my dainty meats, or pleaſant wines, or whatſoever my inſatiable luxury exhausted."

Drunkenneſs is ſaid to be the original ſin of Germany, from whence it ſpread itſelf into other countries. They give this character of a German, " That he is an animal which drinks more than he can carry ; a tun that contains more than he can vent, and that he underſtands more than he can expreſs." They tell a ſtory of four old Saxons, who at one ſitting drank as many healths as they could make up years amongſt them, which amounted to three hundred ; and it is recorded of a certain German count, that he uſed to make his children, whiſt yet infants, drink luſtily, to prove whether they were of his own begetting or no ; for, if they grew ſick after it, he preſently concluded them to be baſtards ; but if they could bear the debauch well, he cheriſhed them as his own true offſpring. In a word, thou mayeſt have the ſame idea of the Germans at this day as Solymán the Magnificent had in his time, who uſed to ſay, " I ſlight the Germans above all other people of Europe, becauſe they are always at diſcord among themſelves, nor can they ever be united any more than my fingers and toes ;

they cannot endure labour, and are the excessivest gluttons and drunkards in the world; they always maintain a regiment of whores in their camp; their generals take more pride in their feathers than in their military arms."

In a word, the German is so over-run with all kinds of vice, that he wants nothing to make him a complete devil, but only a little tincture of the Italian qualities, according to the proverb, "*Tudesco Italianato è un diavolo incarnato;*" A German Italianized is a devil incarnate.

It is certain the French have so weakened them on one hand, and the Swedes on the other, that, considering the frequent troubles they meet with from the Hungarians, Bohemians, and other tributary nations, besides the intestine feuds of the electoral princes, we need not fear the blunted talons of the eagle, which are scarce strong enough to support her tottering state, or prop her from falling into ruin: So far is she from being able to offend her neighbours, that she never makes war her choice, or takes the field but by compulsion in her own defence.

Illustrious Hamet, I pray God inspire the victorious Osmons with prophetic courage and resolution, and the final conquest of Germany will soon be the prize of true believers.

Paris, 5th of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1668.

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#### IV.—To NATHAN BEN SADDI, a Jew at Vienna.

THE friendship that has been contracted between thee and me, ever since it was thy fortune to serve the Grand Signior in that station, obliges us both to mutual sincerity; besides, the duty and allegiance we owe our sovereign requires plain dealing between us. We ought to

than flattery as the bane of all friendly engagements, the pest of the courts of princes, and the general contagion which infects chiefly the most effeminate part of mankind; such as are these western Nazarenes, who abound in a thousand little complaisances and false civilities; thus suffering their own integrity to be corrupted, their virtue and fastness of spirit to be surprised and debauched, whilst their friends, by these means, not seldom run on precipices, and fall into inevitable ruin. In a word, they betray one another and themselves out of pretended good nature.

By what I have said thou wilt comprehend that I do not reprove thee out of spite, envy, malice, or an affected gravity, when I tell thee that you took wrong measures in endeavouring to set the emperor's palace on fire, or to poison him at his dinner. I told thee once before that these preposterous methods will never take effect; besides they will do the Grand Signior no service.

Though thou art seemingly engaged in the cause of the malcontents, remember that thy business is different from theirs. What signifies it to thee whether the Hungarians have their liberties, rights and privileges granted them or no? or what reason hast thou to espouse the interest of the evangelics, rather than that of the catholics, any further than as an umbrage to cover the greater designs thou hast in hand, as an agent incognito for the Grand Signior? Let the jesuits pursue their own game; and the protestants theirs; stand thou neuter in the main, and rather endeavour to keep both parties in a counterpoise than to turn the scales for either; for the Sultan will gain by the divisions of the Nazarenes, let the case go how it will between themselves. Besides, there are catholics engaged in the faction as well as protestants. It is rather a civil quarrel than a religious one.

The nobles and gentry of Hungaria and Transylvania are concerned for their estates more than for their churches; they see the imperial court wants money, and it is a crime for an Hungarian to be rich. Those that have the supreme power in these cases will find reason enough to condemn a wealthy lord, whether he be guilty or not.

It is this puts them upon caballing and entering into confederacies, that so they may consult the means of their own safety, and be in a posture to defend themselves.

I perceive the Count de Serini has made another address for the government of Carolstadt, and been repulsed; Joseph Earl of Haberslein, and Knight of Malta, being appointed to succeed the Count d'Aversperg in that honour, which is an evident sign that the emperor has no good opinion of Serini, notwithstanding all his former good services; and this is enough to alienate a man of his great courage and merit.

Count Frangipani also has his particular discontents; so has Tatembach, with many other potent lords of Hungary and Croatia. Indeed, the whole body of those nations are disobliged, and almost wearied out with the continual oppressions of the Germans.

Nathan, thou wilt find it no hard matter to bring them to a necessity of putting themselves under the Grand Signior's protection; it is thy part to cherish their discontents. As for the imperial court, thou mayest perceive they are resolved to mortify these people, and to take from them all opportunities, and the very capacity of rebelling, by not suffering the natives of Hungary and Croatia to possess any office of command.

Every party pursues its own interests, and so must we ours; self-preservation is the root of all mutual society

and justice. Take care of thyself, thy friends, and the cause thou art engaged in, and then thou needest not fear any qualms of conscience. In fine, I counsel thee to put in practice the advice of one of thy own rabbis, Jesus Ben Syrach, "Be not over just."

Paris, 17th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1668.

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V.—To PESTELI HALI, his brother, Master of the Grand Signior's Customs at Constantinople.

PREPARE thyself for surprising news, and receive it with a moderation becoming a man. Oucoumiche our mother is dead. One and the same night lodged her in the apartments of Hymen and the chambers of Death. Before the days of the nuptial solemnities were over, the mournful rites of her funeral commenced: She made but one remove from her marriage-bed to the grave.

If thou wonderest that a woman of her age, being five-and-seventy years old, and having already had two husbands, should marry a third, know that it was not dotage, but discretion, which prompted her to take this course. The integrity, wisdom, and prudent conduct of Eliachim the Jew, had charmed her affections long ago, and improved her acquaintance with him into a strict and virtuous friendship. As a mother, she owed him respect and love for his constant fidelity to me; and on her own account, she could not but entertain sentiments of esteem and gratitude for a man who had been so nicely careful to preserve her person and honour from injury and violence ever since she came to Paris; for he alone, among the many myriads of people inhabiting this city, was the only confident both of her secrets and mine. In a word, these regards, with some others of piety, zeal,



and good-nature, made her willing to become his wife, who in all things had performed the part of a friend, and a person of honour.

Besides all this, it was really her interest thus to dispose of her latter days in a foreign country, where she knew nobody but Eliachim and me. As for me, she considered that my life was not only subject to the same casualties with other mortals, and that I might be snatched away by a thousand deaths, but that my station here was very precarious, and I might be suddenly recalled by my superiors to Constantinople, or at least be removed to some other post whither she could not accompany me, being incapable of bearing at these years the hardships and fatigues of travel; that after my departure she should be neglected, contemned, and abandoned by all, but those who would desire her death for the sake of her money and jewels.

In these circumstances, to remain a widow, professing the faith of Mahomet, and believing the Alcoran, in a region and city swarming with infidels, would have been but an uncomfortable as well as a dangerous condition; wherefore, having had experience of Eliachim's virtue, and incorrupt manners, he also making addresses of love to her, and giving her encouragement to hope that he would become a musfulman, she yielded at last to the thoughts of taking him for her husband, and they were married on the 7th of this moon, in a private synagogue of the Jews; for they are not allowed a public one in this city, as they are in many other cities of Europe.

My mother appeared neither too dejectedly sad, nor profusely merry, during the nuptial feast; but comporting herself with a cheerful reservedness, seemed to have her thoughts rather fixed on something else, than the vain ceremonies, noise, and mirth of the company. It

looks as if her prophetic soul was sensible of its approaching release ; for, to be brief, she was found dead in her bed next morning.

Brother, she is now in her sepulchre, at rest from all the toils of human life. Let not this news affect thee with fruitless melancholy, since death is the common fate of all mortals ; rather advance the bliss of our deceased parent, with devout orisons for her soul, remembering that ere long we shall be in the same condition ; for though man, like a moth, be passionately enamoured with the light of this world ; though he flutter and dance about it for a while, basking in the splendour and warmth of his good fortune, yet at length he is consumed by the very flame which gave him nourishment, and falls a victim to his own pleasure.

Paris, 9th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1669.

VI.—To HAMET, *Reis Effendi*, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.

I SENT thee a letter some days ago, wherein I exposed the general nakedness, imbecility, and languishing state of the German empire in this age. My dispatch abounded with characters of their vices ; it has described exactly the present eclipse of ancient imperial majesty, power, and strength, the revolt of many principalities and states, the feuds and discord of those that yet remain in obedience, and pay a seeming homage to Cæsar, with many other things, which, being well considered, may for the future prevent, or at least diminish that consternation and panic terror, which uses to seize the hearts of musfulmans when we are in war with the emperor.

Now, as a farther incentive and encouragement to take

up arms against the infidels, as a spur to certain victory and conquest, I will unlock the treasures of the country, without taking notice of the inhabitants ; and 'since nothing more excites the resolution and valour of military men, than the hopes of plunder, and passing away a campaign in plenty of all necessary comforts, I will give thee a true account of the natural dowery of these regions, the riches of the soil, and the wealth, which commerce with other nations, together with the spoils of former wars, the industry of the people, and the benevolence of fortune, have added to their store.

Germany abounds in generous wines, and those more lasting than any other in Europe ; the Rhenish wines will keep above fifty years ; the wines of the Necker are wholesome, and clear as water from the rock ; those of Franconia are strong and operative ; the Austrian grape is sweet and luscious. Several Roman emperors have preferred the fruits of the German vintage to those of Italy and Greece ; and such is the superabundant plenty of vineyards, that at a place called Stutgard, there is a proverb current, that "they have more wine than water." If our janizaries knew this, they would be for an expedition into Germany ; nay, they temper their mortar with wine in some places, and slake their lime with it.

They have strong beverages also made of barley, wheat, and other grain, which they transport from Brunswick, Breslaw, Delph, Dantzic, Lubeck, and other places, to most countries in the north and west of Europe ; they likewise make a sort of wine of honey, as strong and sweet as the wine of Candy.

There is abundance of frankincense and myrrh in Moravia, of saffron in Austria, of liquorice in Franconia, of madder for dyers in Silesia, of amber in Thuringia.

There are innumerable orchards full of all delectable

fruits ; the fields stand thick with corn, the pastures are thronged with cattle, and they have a breed of the stoutest horses in the world. They have timber enough to serve all the nations in the world for shipping ; but that which is most inviting is the variety of mines of gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, and iron. Before America was discovered, Germany was the Peru and Potosi of all Europe. They have also plenty of marble as bright as crystal.

Besides their native and domestic riches, they have mightily improved their stock by foreign commerce, exchanging their superfluities for things more precious, and of greater value, which in a constant course of bartering brings into the German coffers many hundred millions of crowns in a year. In a word, their cities are so rich, that when they have been pillaged by an enemy, the booty of one city has been valued at two millions of crowns in ready money, besides plate and jewels. The common soldiers have made hilts for their swords and daggers of gold and silver ; nay, some would have their very helmets of the same metals. Public gaming tables have been set up in the streets, and it has been common for a private trooper to win or lose five or ten thousand crowns at a time ; this would be rare sport for our janizaries and spahis.

I tell thee, serene minister, considering the immense wealth of Germany, and the degeneracy of its inhabitants, providence seems to invite our arms to make a conquest of those fertile regions, and take from the uncircumcised the goods which surfeit them ; they abuse the gifts of nature and fortune, by employing them to the ends of vice ; whereas the true believers, were they once possessed of them, would turn them to virtuous purposes,

the public advantage, the increase of the empire, glory of God, and propagation of the faith undefiled.

Paris, 13th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1669.

VII.—*To HEBBATOLLA, Adir Argun, Superior of the Convent of Dervises at Cogni in Natolia.*

IT was with a specific kind of joy not easy to be defined, that I received thy venerable dispatch; I perused the welcome orders therein contained with a delight not in the least inferior to his, who being abandoned to distress and miserable poverty, has by good luck discovered a hidden wealthy treasure; for so my spirit is ravished to find in this degenerate age a rich reserve of piety and devotion to the ancient prophets of God.

I am glad to hear the character of John the Baptist, which I sent thee formerly, was so well accepted by thee, and all the religious under thy charge, that thou vouchsafest only to accuse the shortness of the relation, desiring a more particular account of that prophet's manner of living, especially of his abstinences, and what may be the most proper interpretation of the Grecian word *angelos*, mentioned in the history of his life.

Praise be to God, who has inspired thee with this critical regard to one of his most holy messengers; I reverence thy learned soul, and that accomplished intellect which is ever busy, prying into weighty and important matters; I honour thy impartial mind, which scruples not to pay the attach that is due to a saint, though of the Christian kalendar. If we should reject all that the followers of Jesus do, we should neither fast, pray, give alms, or perform any other good works; therefore in this, thou art an exemplary pattern to the rigid, superstitious sort of

muzzulman fanatics, who bear an endless grudge against all those that are not of their narrow faith and dark opinion.

Glory be to God, with whom the Word was present from the dawning of eternal light, before the morning of his works had peeped over the mountains of the ancient chaos, or penetrated the dark abyfs and misty vale of nothing, and painted the tops of the creation, the highest ranks of beings, with splendours of the early day; before the sun had drank the immortal halo in, and sponged up all the visible beams, to squeeze them out again upon the moon and stars and on the lower world; that Word remains for ever, and at a determined hour became incarnate, in the person of Jesus the Son of Mary, as the holy Alcoran informs us.

In those days John the Baptist went into the Wilderness, and preached repentance to the Jews, foretelling the near approach of the Messias; the sacred hero made a cave his residence; and at first, to wean his body from all softness, he wore a vest or shirt of camel's hair, which was girt about him with a belt made of that painful and religious creature's skin, to put him in mind that he was born for holy labours, toils, and mortifications. He had no table spread with far-fetched costly dainties, no dishes crammed with bloody and large inventories of birds, four-footed beasts, and fish; his diet was simple, cheap, and innocent, easy to be got in every wood or field, without the detriment of his fellow-animals; for he either contented himself with a repast on honey, which he found in hollow trees, or on a kind of manna, a sweet dew falling on their leaves, and there condensed by heavenly influence, or else it was a kind of luscious moisture, which he sucked from certain plants, perhaps not much unlike our sugar canes; for thus interpreters do differ about the

words *τα μέλας ἄγρον*. Whatever it was, we may conclude it to be some slender, light, and easy nourishment; and when this diet failed him, or his stomach required a little more variety, he banqueted on what the Grecians called *ἀκρίδες*. Some will have these to be a kind of locusts or grasshoppers, a meat indulged the Jews by Moses in the law. The Syrians also counted them a dainty; so did the ancient Parthians, as Aristotle and Pliny tell us; and my countrymen the Arabians eat of them to this day. Others are of opinion, that these *ἀκρίδες* were a sort of little shell-fish, such as crabs, crawfish, or shrimps, which nature has generally lodged in holes along the banks of rivers; a pleasant, temperate sort of diet, commended for their virtues in expelling poison, and being remedies for the strangury, and antidotes to cure the biting of mad dogs.

The divine prophet, therefore, often frequenting the waters of the river Jordan, wherein he used to wash his converts and disciples, these men suppose, he took occasion to allay his hunger with these little shell-fish, which he might easily take in mighty numbers from their watery nests; and they endeavour to strengthen this opinion, by asserting that the food which the waters afford us is much more pure and holy than what the earth brings forth, in regard the earth lies under the malediction of God ever since Noah's flood, whereas the waters never were cursed. Hence, say they, it is very probable that the consecrated hero would not defile his spotless life with cursed banquets from the earth, but rather chose to appease his hunger with the harmless, blessed, and wholesome product of the waters.

If thou wilt have my opinion after all, I am apt to think these *ἀκρίδες* were nothing else but the tender tops of plants, such as we call asparagus, or perhaps they were

wild apples of the wood, and then we may suppose there is some mistake in the Greek copy, *ἀνρίδις* for *ἀνρύδις*; or it may be, the holy prophet in the proper season of the year did use to crop and eat the ears of barley, and then the word should be *καρύδις*; for what could be more sweet and pleasant to an abstemious man than to sustain his life with fruits, grains, herbs, or roots? Nor did the malediction reach the vegetables, but only the animal generations, from which a perfect man abstains.

Certainly those who out of an aversion for purity, prayer, and fasting, turn themselves from human bodies to swine, and from religious abstinence to savage gormandising on flesh, seem to derive their pedigree from a race of devils; especially such as, after the manner of spiders, gathering poison from the flowers of piety, blaspheme this sacred virtue of abstinence, and call it by the infamous name of superstition.

For if the veneration we pay to God consist in the knowledge, love, and fear of his divine majesty, with adoration and praise of his eternal attributes, it follows, that we ought to worship him with the most fervent application of our spirits; but this religious ardour cannot subsist in any soul, whose body is not mortified, nor can the body be mortified without austerities, which always is accompanied with rigorous fasting and abstinence from flesh; wherefore if we ascend to God by the very same degrees as we fall from him, it follows that abstinence is the first step to immortality and supreme happiness.

I do not mean by abstinence that natural aversion which some men have for flesh, who never durst to taste of any in their lives, compelled to this by some occult antipathy in their stomachs; for such a necessity cannot make a virtue, it being common to men and brutes; there being many animals who fast from all provender at certain sea-



sons of the year, and others that taste not some kinds of food during their lives; so there are some men to whom wine, flesh, cheese, apples, herbs, and other things, are an abomination from their cradles. There have been others, who, by a preternatural necessity, have lived some days, weeks, months, and years, without either meat or drink; so Plato records, that Herus Pamphilius lay ten whole days among the dead carcases of soldiers slain in battle, and when he was taken up to be laid on the funeral pile, they perceived him to be alive. Laertius tells us, that Pythagoras fasted forty days and forty nights from meat and drink; from whom Apollonius Tyanæus learned the art of keeping almost a perpetual fast; and these modern times afford us the example of a Spaniard whom they call Alcantare, who every moon used to fast for seven or eight days together. So a famous German maid was diligently observed and watched, whilst she passed away full seven years time without meat, drink, sleep, or excrements; France also boasts another virgin who fasted above three years together.

Such abstinences as these are not to be put to the account of virtue, in regard they were not the effects of human choice, but the decrees of fate; so would our abstinence be depraved, if we should only practise it, as the old Gentiles did, who forbore to kill or eat some certain beasts, because they held them consecrated to their gods; as the dog to Diana, the tyger to Bacchus, the horse to Neptune, the wolf to Mars, the eagle to Jupiter, the peacock to Juno, the swan to Apollo, the dove to Venus, the owl to Minerva. Nor need we to abstain on the account of the soul's transmigration; for so we ought to forbear the vegetable products of the earth, as well as animals, since the soul is indifferent to all bodies in its separate state.

But our reason in this point ought to take its rise from the fundamental law of nature, the original justice of the world, which teaches us, "Not to do that to another, which we would not have another do to us." Now, since it is evident that no man would willingly become the food of beasts, therefore, by the same rule, he ought not to prey on them. Next to this foundation of our abstinence, we ought to build our aims at the perfection of our nature, which cannot be acquired but by degrees : We must endeavour to abate the aliment of our concupiscences, by exhaling the superfluous and grosser vapours of our blood in sacred fasts and orisons ; then we should refresh our fainting bodies with food affording little nourishment and pleasure, that so our vain affections, appetites, and lusts, may gradually die, whilst the pure mind revives, and being free from the gross vapours arising from too much, and too fattening meats and drinks, the films which darkened her sight fall off, and she can better now discern the naked forms of things by her own simple intuition, than before she could through all borrowed spectacles and other optics of book philosophy ; also, she will more easily raise herself to the contemplation and science of divine eternal things. He therefore that in earnest will apply himself to the study of accomplished sanctity, must first by fasting exhaust the marrow from his bones, the fatness from his flesh, the wild and rampant spirits from his nerves, and then he must purge the words and actions of his life from vice ; when this is done, the soul becometh a pure Tabula Rasa, and is fit for the impressions of celestial virtue.

Those who labour under acute diseases, run great hazard of their lives, according to Hippocrates, unless their diet be accommodated with proportionate regard to the quality and time of the critical fits or paroxysms ; but

those who are entangled with vice do labour under far more dangerous distempers than such as afflict the body ; wherefore the prophet, our holy lawgiver, like a wise physician, appointed certain seasons of the year for sacred abstinences, fastings, pilgrimages, vigils, and other holy exercises, especially the mighty fast and vigil of Ramezan, wherein, though it be not forbid to eat of flesh after the stars appear at night, yet none but loose and indevout believers take that liberty, whereas the better sort content themselves with an ascetic diet. The Hebrews fasted with unleavened bread, and a little salted ; the Christians also taste no flesh on their prohibited days ; and shall the Mussulmans be greater libertines than these infidels ?

O Hebatolla ! how radiant is the lustre of a lamp when shining through a clean and fine defecate crystal ! So does the soul display the rays of her immortal virtue round about, when she inhabits in a well purified, chaste, and almost pervious body ; wherefore it is absolutely necessary for him to attenuate his body with perpetual temperance and abstinence, who consecrates himself to virtue and devotion ; he will not be ensnared or caught by any baits of luxury or voluptuousness, nor yet affrighted from his constant, sober course of life, by any pain or thwarting accident ; no frowns or menaces shall divert him from his noble purpose ; but he will so nourish his body all his life, that it shall never be surfeited or over-filled with meats. And such is the magic of this sacred virtue, that it can never be hurt, much less subverted by all the machinations of evil demons, or the malicious attempts of men ; but it proceeds from strength to strength, and fights the combat valiantly, till having overcome at last, it triumphs for ever, and receives the palm, the crown and chaplet of divine reward in paradise.

Holy president, pray that I may practise what I so admire, and not be self-condemned for living contrary to my knowledge; for God neither loves a double tongue or heart, neither delights he in feet or hands that are swift and nimble to do mischief.

Paris, 13th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1669.

VIII.—To HAMET, *Reis Effendi*, *Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

Now the Christians are in a general consternation for Candy: The pope has sent letters to all the princes that are in his communion, inviting and pressing them to succour that distressed island; levies are making every where; and the King of France, who seeks all occasions of glory, appears the most forward of any to assist the public in this fatal juncture. The Duke of Beaufort, and Chevalier de Vendosme, are appointed to lead the forces designed for that service; they are gone to Toulon, in order to embark. The pope has sent the Duke of Beaufort a breve, declaring him general of the troops ecclesiastic that are to serve in Candy; and for his greater encouragement, he has sent him the pontifical standard. In the mean while there is a triple league concluded between the Emperor, the King of Spain, the King of England, the King of Swedeland, and the States of Holland.

There is great joy in Portugal for the birth of the infant, who is called Elizabetha-Maria-Louisa. She was born the 6th of the first moon; and on the 18th the Empress of Germany was also delivered of a daughter. These western queens are very pregnant; not a year passes without the birth or baptism of some royal infant.

This is all the news at present ; but to oblige thee, I will say something of Italy, which is esteemed the garden of Europe. Nay, Constantine Palæologus, Emperor of Greece, was wont to say, “ Unless I had been assured by very learned and holy men that paradise was seated in Asia, I should have sworn that Italy had been the place.”

It is most certain Italy is a delectable country, abounding in riches and pleasures ; the eye is not satisfied with seeing the infinite variety of beauties which grace this happy region ; such is the lovely intermixture of hills and valleys, groves and plains, palaces and gardens, that a traveller is ravished as he passes on the road : But this is not all ; she is as rich as fair. No country in the world can match Italy for the plenty and variety of excellent wines, only they are of no long continuance. Above all the rest, travellers commend that sort which they call *Lachrymæ Christi*, or the Tears of Christ, for its delicious taste, which, when a Dutchman once tasted, he burst forth into this exclamation, “ O Christ, why didst not thou weep in my country ?” At Papia there are a kind of aromatic grapes which leave a fragrant odour in the mouth of him that eats them. It is recorded of a certain Roman lord, that when he was in prison half dead with melancholy, he drank a glass or two of this generous wine, which so revived his spirits, that instead of despairing, as he was ready to do before, he wrote a treatise, intitled, *De Consolatione*.

Besides, Italy abounds in cattle, sheep, fowls, mines, rocks of alabaster, marble, porphyry, coral, saphire, agates, chalcedonia, azules, and innumerable other precious stones ; hence it comes that in this country are seen the most glorious and magnificent temples of the world.

But this so fair and wealthy a spot of ground is inhabited by a very wicked sort of people ; they are quite degenerated from the virtues of their ancestors ; these are a base, effeminate, sly, sodomitical race of men, covetous, revengeful, and inexorable. I have heard a story of two Italian brothers that were walking one night in the fields, it being a very serene sky, when one of them looking stedfastly on the heavens, wished " he had as many oxen as there were stars." The other wished " he had a field as large as the firmament." " What would you do with it ?" (said the first) " Let your oxen graze there," (replied he). But as they proceeded in this kind of foolish loose discourse, they kindled each other's anger, and at length falling from words to blows, killed one another on the spot. Behold the consequence of their covetous desires ! They are extremely addicted to revenge, and are as dexterous at poisoning as the Indian princes. A certain French author gives us a very compendious account of the benefits a stranger gets by travelling into Italy, in these words : " We go into Italy (says he) with incredible charges, only to purchase the mere shadow of civility, and we bring back from thence the whole system of vices. The Milanese teach us how to cheat ; from the Venetians we learn hypocrisy ; Rome transforms us into perfect atheists and libertines ; Naples turns us to satyrs ; Florence instructs us in the artificial methods of poisoning ; there is not one city which does not tincture us with some specific ill qualities."

Sage Hamet, in all my letters to thee I studiously insert some remarks on these western nations, that so I may gratify thy wishes. Pardon the want of order ; for I write things as they present themselves to my memory. Accept all in good part from Mahmut, who o-

heys thy commands cheerfully, and honour thee without flattery.

Paris, 12th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1669.

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IX.—To HAMET, *Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

THOU mayest register in the archives of the sacred empire, that Don John of Austria is made perpetual governor of the Low Countries under the Spanish king's obedience; he is also viceroy, and vicar-general of Arragon, Catalonia, and Valentia; but it is fit for thee to know also, that this is so far from being esteemed by that prince a happiness, that he counts it his greatest misfortune, in regard it is no better than an honourable and irrevocable banishment from the court of Spain, where his royal blood and merits are outmastered by the genius of a certain priest, whom they call Father Nitard. This man is very ambitious, always aiming at high matters, yet admired by nobody for his learning, beauty, or any other good qualities; only the Queen of Spain is pleased to make him her favourite.

He could never buckle to the humour of Don John, and hence arose a secret envy between them, which afterwards burst forth into open animosities, feuds, and quarrels; so that at last the favourite got the day, and Don John was forced to quit the field.

It is impossible to trace the sovereigns of the earth in the footsteps of their royal conduct, or else one would of course conclude, that so great a prince as this, of the same lineage as the queen herself, should have easily eclipsed the borrowed lustre of an upstart minion; but

monarchs have specific reasons to themselves which others cannot penetrate.

Perhaps this cunning priest used a trick like that of a soldier in the army of Alexander the Great, who being of an ambitious spirit, and coveting to make some greater figure than that of a private sentinel, considered Alexander's humour, and how to hit it. He knew that his heroic master took delight in any thing that was bold and brave, but how to come into his presence he was ignorant; at length he pitched upon this method: One day, as Alexander was debauching with his beloved Parmenio, Hephæstion, Lysimachus, and other officers, this fellow (whose name was Clytus) put himself into a mimic dress of war, counterfeiting himself mad, and dancing the Pyrrhic measures, with his brandished sword killed five new lifted soldiers lately come from Colchis. The guards soon seized upon him, and it being a tragical novelty, the news was carried to the king, who caused the fellow to be brought before him; and examining him on the point, Clytus answered, "Great king, those five men whom I have killed had conspired to take away thy life this day, being hired thereto by the King of Colchis, and therefore sent into thy army; their tent being next to mine, I had an accidental opportunity last night of overhearing their discourse, when they were plotting together the time, the place, and manner of thy death; I kept a watch upon them, and observed their motions from that moment; for, though I knew the hour appointed by them for this execrable regicide, yet I was solicitous lest some ill fate should prompt the russians to antedate their own resolves, and hasten a murder, whose delay might else discover their designs, or at least prevent them; therefore I took this mad disguise to execute the soberest and most important purpose that ever I



framed in all my days, which was at once to save the life of the world's conqueror, and get myself immortal honour by the happy deed."

After profound deliberation of the drunken cabinet council, Alexander approved the fact, and ordered public honours to be done to his deliverer. According to the Macedonian custom, he vested him with purple robes, and gave him a chain of gold, admitting him to the latter end of the banquet, and afterwards esteeming him above his most familiar friends, till such another debauch as this, but more unfortunate to Clytus, at once deprived him of the king's favour and his own life; so inconstant is the state of human greatness.

Sage Hamet, the favour of princes is like a reed of Egypt, which either transpierces him that leans upon it, or flinches from the burden, and so gives him a fall, which most times plunges him over head and ears in the choking mire of popular hatred.

God grant thou mayest never be crushed to death from above by the weight of the Sultan's displeasure, or undermined from beneath, and swallowed up in an earthquake raised by the multitude.

Paris, 18th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1669.

X.—To *HEBATOLLA Mir Argun, Superior of the Convent of Dervises at Cogni in Natolia.*

THOU wilt not be displeased to hear of a mighty king; that laying aside his diadem and sceptre, and abandoning the height of human glory, has consecrated himself to a private religious life, vowing perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience.

Yet this is true of John Casimir, late king of Poland;

who from a sovereign monarch is become an humble subject, and having forsaken the pleasures and magnificences of his royal palace, voluntarily confines himself to the narrow circumstances and austerities of a monastic life.

He chose France for the place of his retreat from his own kingdom, and the Abbey of St. Germain's near Paris as his sanctuary from all worldly affairs: He was magnificently received and entertained in every city through which he passed; and on the 4th of the 11th moon he made his first entry into the mosque or church of the convent, where he made his vows in quality of abbot or superior of that house, for which they solemnly sung their *Te Deum*, or a song of praise to God. And the court of France seems to be proud of the honour this prince has done it, in retiring hither, and making it the theatre of such pious resolves, the last stage of his pilgrimage on earth, where he will bid adieu to the vain pageantries of honour, wealth, and empire; and having shaken off the glittering burden of a crown, with all the other elogs of elevated mortality, he will the easier climb to paradise.

Abstracting from the particular superstitions of the Nazarenes, I cannot but commend the sage undertaking of King Casimir, who in this seems to outgo the noisy ostentatious action of Adrian, one of the Roman emperors; for he only once celebrated in outward pomp his own funeral, by way of type or figure, making a splendid cavalcade, before which his coffin was carried in a kind of mock triumph, as if, after all his other victories, at last he had led death himself captive; whereas this hindered not but that he returned again to the vanities which in this public emblem he seemed to despise, and from a dramatic conqueror he became a real slave; his personated mortification in the streets ended in his ordinary passions at home;

and he had a stronger inclination to the bed of voluptuousness at night, than he seemed to have by day to his grave.

But this heroic King of the Poles is really gone into his sepulchre, for no better is a monastery in my opinion ; he has translated the seat and throne of his kingdom to a tomb, not for three or four hours, to make a show, but there really to lead a dying life, or living death, and reign in funeral majesty all the rest of his days ; for to be thus recluse from the world is to be buried alive.

O venerable and benign dervise, pardon the favourable opinion I have of this Christian monarch. I do not patronise his errors in applauding his virtue ; besides, it is the general faith of Mussulmans, that, let a man be a Christian, a Jew, or Pagan, provided he lives up to the best light he has, he shall be saved ; and the holy prophet himself gave us encouragement to believe so.

Thou wilt at least conclude this king to be more pious and worthy of praise than one of his predecessors, who usurped the Polish crown. This was Uladisslaus V. who having entered into a solemn league with one of our former sultans living in his time, and taken an oath thereupon, giving also the eucharist (or that which they esteem the body of Christ) in hostage, yet soon after broke the articles that he had signed and sworn to, and for the performance of which he had pawned his God.

This so provoked the Grand Signior, that he had recourse to his arms for justice, and invaded Poland with a mighty force ; to repel which Uladisslaus also levied an army, and met him in the field ; but just as they were going to give battle, the sultan took out of his bosom the pawned eucharist, with the capitulations agreed upon and sworn to between them ; then holding the wafer in one hand, and the articles in the other, he cried out, is

the hearing of both armies, " O thou crucified God of the Christians, behold thy perfidious adorers, who have given thee to me as a pledge of their faith and truth in what they have sworn, yet in a most impious manner they have violated their oath ; if thou art a God, chastise them now by my means, for their abominable perjury, and profanation of thy name." His prayer was heard of Heaven ; for the victorious Osmans gave a total overthrow to the infidels, and that blasphemous prince was himself killed in the battle.

Whatever various forms of religion there be in the world, we know there is but one true God, creator of heaven and earth, conservator and governor of men ; he connives at the invincible ignorances, frailties, and infirmities of our mortal race ; he accepts the good works and sincere vows of pagans and the uncircumcised, as well as those of the true believers and followers of the prophet ; but he abhors and punishes all injustice, perjury, treason, both in the one and the other ; for he has no partial regards for this nation or person, more than that they are all equally the works of his hands, and his care is alike over them.

The sun runs from the east to the west ; in his daily circuit he illuminates and warms this hemisphere, and by night our antipodes enjoy his favours and welcome influence ; at one time of the year he comforts the north, at another he revives the south ; there is no part of the globe which in due season does not rejoice in his all-cheering beams.

The moon never slackens or deviates from her wonted course, but from the crescent to the wane observes the laws of him that made her ; she is exact in timing the flux and reflux of the sea ; and she guides the wandering mariners by night ; the inhabitants of the arctic and ant-

arctic circles wait for her light, when the sun absents himself for half the year ; as soon as they see the chariot of Diana appear on the road of their heaven, every man claps his hands for joy ; they rouse from their domestic dulness and melancholy ; they come out of their dens and caves ; with dances and songs they welcome the approach of the beautiful goddess, knowing that she is but a second remove from the Eternal Light, the mirror of the sun, in which that glorious planet may see his face, in whose, by reflection, we see the face of God.

So do the stars keep on their various traverses through the heavens ; each constellation faithfully maintaining its post, each planet pursuing its road ; whilst all together, at so vast a distance, appear a flying camp, never setting up their bright pavilions but by night, and in the morning taking them down again. This may be called the army of Heaven, the host of God, embattelled in the firmament, to guard his friends on earth, and to chastise his enemies.

To descend lower yet into our sublunary elements, we find the rain, hail, snow, winds, thunder, lightning, and other meteors, are impartially scattered up and down the climates of the earth ; I do not mean by chance, but by the universal providence which governs all things, as the Alcoran expresses it : “ It is he directs the seminal and prolific showers to barren and desert places ; doubtless this is a sign of his divine unity.”

In fine, all provinces and corners of the earth bring forth their proper fruits in season ; and the negroes of Afric and America, though gross idolaters, and some of them worshipping infernal demons, yet enjoy God’s blessings, and live as plentifully, with as much content and joy, as we that adore his eternal unity.

Every nation takes up their religion on the credit of

their priests, and so long as they observe the natural and moral law imprinted in their hearts, the indulgent Judge and Father of men will dispense with those that err in obedience to the positive laws of their nation; for sedition is like magic, odious to God and man, and equally liable to universal punishment.

Once more, O pious father of the dervises, I beg of thee to pardon the freedom I take in discoursing of religious matters in thy presence, who art a light to the blind, a guide to those that err, a resolver of doubts, an arbitrator of difficult questions, the only oracle of thy province.

I endeavour not to inform thee, but to disentangle myself from error, and testify that though I honour God and his prophet, yet I think there is no need of a falsehood to defend the truth.

Paris, 7th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1670.

#### XI.—To USEPH, *Bassa*.

DEATH has of late celebrated a triple triumph in the court of France, having led away captives to the invisible world the Cardinal Duke of Vendôme, a duchess of the same title, and Henrietta Maria, late Queen of Great Britain, being the relict of King Charles I. and youngest daughter to Henry IV. of France.

Thou mayest also report to the divan, that Casimir, late King of Poland, is now at this court, having left Poland as soon as he saw Prince Wiefnowiski elected his successor. The Dukes of Lorraine and Newburgh had severally laid claim to that crown, and levied armies apart, in order to make good their pretensions; but the Poles being aware of it, were resolved not to bring themselves

under the jurisdiction of any foreigner, so long as there was a prince of their own nation capable of the dignity, and one who being the son of King Casimir, seems to have the best title to his father's throne, whose virtues he inherits.

Here is also arrived the Prince of Tuscany, who has travelled through all Europe, and takes France as the last kingdom in his return homewards, protesting that he does this in good manners, as preferring France to all the nations in Christendom. Indeed, he could do no less, in good manners, than make this apology, which yet sounds very flat to a court so refined as this, which might have expected his first visit as a token of his regard; since, though in domestic processions, entries, and cavalcades, those of highest dignity take the last place, yet in foreign embassies and voyages, it is usual for princes to address to those first for whom they have the greatest esteem.

The politicians here keep very secret the news that comes from Candy, which makes all men conclude it is none of the most prosperous. It is generally reported for a truth, that Admiral Beaufort is either killed or taken prisoner by the Ottomans, and that the French have lost near two thousand men in this undertaking.

I wonder why the painters always describe death in the form of a naked skeleton, a starved system of dry bones; whereas one would think he ought to be portrayed as a monster, a miracle of fatness, since he is the greatest glutton in the world, hourly gormandising on all manner of flesh, and is the very original, universal cannibal of nature, who from the beginning of the world has feasted himself with human bodies; but perhaps he has a bad digestion, and none of all his raw and bloody diet will afford nutriment enough to form so much as a poor skin to

cover his nakedness, and therefore it is he is always drawn in this lean figure.

Courteous bassa, suffer me from this vain jest to fall in to a serious reflection on our mortality, and the frailness of human race.

Man is but a foetid vapour, first exhaled from the earth, and afterwards advancing is condensed to a cloud; that so his filthiness may be concealed under the covert of a skin, there first secret to engender a thousand inlets of fiery passions, lusts, concupiscences, and extravagant thoughts, which in time burst forth and trouble all the world, yet end at last in empty smoke, rain, hail, or wind, and are extinct almost as soon as they were formed.

The elements of which we are compounded may serve as mirrors to represent the constant mutability of our nature; so the devouring fire, when all its fuel is spent, decays and dies; earth, air, and water, all are subject to corruption, and from thence our generation takes its rise; likewise thither we return again. This is the eternal circle of natural products. The trees, the flowers, with all the vegetable race; the birds, the beasts, and fishes, with every species of animals, are so many remembrances of our mortality. Which way soever we turn our eyes, they are presented with fresh images of human weakness, and the very breath which does prolong our life helps equally to shorten it, since every respiration carries away some portion of our substance; our finer particles gradually vanish into smoke and air, whilst the more gross remainder scums off in noisome excrements; and if there appear a show of any thing solid in us at our death, it is soon reduced to ashes, dirt, or worms; our bodies, of which we make so great account whilst living, are lost in the abyss of universal matter soon after death.



What were the greatest prince the happier, though he possessed the whole circumference of this globe? It is but a mighty heap of dirt or dung, perpetually exhaling or crumbling away; it is one of the dishes which compose the banquet of all-devouring time; and whilst the insulting monarchs of the earth trample on it in disdain, spreading their armies far and wide, and boasting that their empires have no bounds, each does but hasten to be shut up himself within a little, obscure, and putrid hole, not much surpassing the limits of a mole-hill.

Great bassa, let not the honours and dignities thou possessest make thee forget the miseries to which thou art liable each hour; but remember thou art a man.

Paris, 6th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1669.

## XII.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

**H**ANX is arrived a *muta-saraca*, called Solyman Ismael, with expresses from the Grand Signior. It was no small refreshment to see his public entry, which appeared like a little epitome of the mussulman grandeur and magnificence. The young rabble were as curious to be spectators of the eastern cavalcade, as the Romans were fond of beholding the secular plays, which were exhibited but once in an age; nay, people of all ranks, ages, and qualities, filled the streets, the windows, and battlements of their houses; some, because they never saw such a sight before, others despairing that they should live long enough to be witnesses of such another.

Yet with all their curiosity, none but the ministers of state are able to dive into the least secret of his instructions; these willingly communicate the titles which that great arbiter of the earth gives the French king, that so

not only his subjects, but neighbouring nations, may conceive the profounder veneration for him, without penetrating the measures he takes. This is an artifice common to all states, to turn the best side outmost; only the Hollanders excepted, who in the days of their revolt from the King of Spain, could not so much as put a good face on a bad matter, but were forced to expose their poverty and nakedness, as well as suffer under it, addressing themselves to Elizabeth, then Queen of England, in the character of the Poor Distressed States of Holland, and so begging her assistance.

However, Solyman has faithfully imparted to me his affairs, as I have reason to believe. He is too well born and bred, possesses more reason and wit than to amuse the old man in the cassock; so they call me here in the streets, who know me not by any other character, so private is Mahmut in Paris at this hour, notwithstanding all his public sufferings.

I esteem Ismael as one fit to represent the Grand Signior's person among better people than infidels; yet I tell thee the French are the most refined of all the western giazres.

Ismael understands the force of the civil laws, which he learned from Justinian's code, and other books; for he is perfect in Greek and Latin, and has bestowed some years in reading their books, both prints and manuscripts.

He makes a very personable figure, being tall, full bodied, well shaped, and not of an ugly face, which is enough to be said of a man designed for business, and not only for love; he is never in danger of falling under Cato's censure, who seeing two ambassadors sent from Rome to a foreign state, one of whom had his head so little that it could hardly be distinguished from that of an owl, and the other such a cripple that he could not walk without

silts, cried out, "Here is an embassy which has neither head nor tail."

And then our *muta-faraca* is rich; he supports the charges of his commission with extraordinary munificence; his house is already become the sanctuary of all the distressed Levantines, whether Greeks, Armenians, or followers of the prophet; and he speaks French as readily as a native; yet he dissembles his expertness in that language, to keep up the state and reservedness of the Ottoman empire, which disdains to condescend to any other speech than Turkish or Arabic; besides, he has the advantage, by thus artificially shutting his ears, that he can at one time both hear and be deaf, understand and be ignorant of whatsoever is said by the spies of the French king; and this is no small gift in a man of his character and trust; for he had need of an angel or a devil at his elbow that thinks to over-reach this court.

Above all, I believe our Solyman will never be guilty of the error committed by the ambassadors sent from Tenedos to one of the Roman emperors; I am sure he is not yet; for those gentlemen had seen the death of the emperor's son eleven moons and fourteen days, as the story says, before they knew it was their duty to make an address of condolance, or at least before they called it to mind, for they were drowned in the Roman luxury; so that when they came to perform that devoir, the emperor could not forbear to scoff at them in these terms; "I much lament (said he) the fate of the renowned Hector, your countryman and champion, whom Achilles the Grecian killed above a thousand years ago."

I speak this in a particular regard to Solyman's deportment here; for when he first came to this court, he found them all in mourning for the death of the king's aunt, the late Queen of England, and of other high personages, parti-

cularly those that were slain in the late action at Candia, whereof I have already given an account to the sublime Porte in another letter. Without instructions, he very demurely accosted the king, and told him, "There could be no *dunalma* in the Ottoman empire, for the late success at Candia, so long as the French court were mourners."

This was a sensible touch to those that understood it; and from that moment the *grandees* and ministers of state have made a difference in their entertainment of this ingenious *muta-faraca*, and that which they used to give to the *chianuses* formerly sent from the Porte.

I can assure thee he is at the same time very blunt and very elegant in his discourse; there is fire in every word he utters, to warm and refresh, if they take it at a due distance, but if they approach too near, he scorches their spirits, and puts them into a choler they dare not show; they consume inwardly in their own despite, yet cannot help themselves.

Doubtless the King of France is the greatest monarch, the most powerful and victorious prince in Christendom, the only invincible emperor of the western Franks; yet he veils to our majestic sovereign, lord of the whole earth; and our eunuch will not part with a tittle of his master's honour, or give any advantage by an *affaires* worthy of blame, in a case that may be turned to a precedent. He is very happy in his repartees, as thou wilt perceive by the answer he gave to a French lord yesterday, when he asked him, whether he thought it not a violation of the civil law for ambassadors to be imprisoned, as they often are at the Ottoman Porte? "No, (says Solyman) it is not, where the ambassador is guilty of treason, or *crimen lese majestatis*; but if it were, you Frenchmen have the least reason to accuse us of it, since we first learned this maxim from the backside of your *Salique* law, where it is indorsed."

And then he produced twenty several instances of this kind in the court of France.

In a word, Solyman has hitherto acquitted himself with marvellous success in every thing, though the French *grandeess* often set upon him to try what metal he is made of, having generally a mean opinion of *mussulmans*, because learning is so little countenanced among us.

I have no matter of news to acquaint thee with, save that a violent plague broke forth not long ago at Soissons, and a terrible earthquake in Sicily frightened the inhabitants of Catanea, and the adjacent towns, from their habitations, after one whole village had been swallowed up.

Those who were curious to pry into the cause of these particular convulsions, and that affrighting overthrow, perceived, after diligent search, that it proceeded from a new eruption or breach in mount Gibel, about two miles from Catanea, where the horrid chasm vomited forth floods of fire, with flaming stones, which being carried violently through the air, for the space of near a league round about, at last fell down in flaming showers or cataracts, producing sad and calamitous effects in the neighbouring country.

Serene minister, it is evident that the judgments of God are upon these infidels, yet they will not be converted from their errors and vices; they have felt the same tempest of fire which overwhelmed the nine cities of the lake Asphaltites, yet they remain insensible and obdurate; surely they will be exterminated from the earth.

Paris, 4th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1669.

## B O O K III.

LETTER I.—To MEHEMET, *an exiled Eunuch, at Alcair in Egypt.*

BE no longer melancholy, my friend, nor sink under the burden of thy misfortunes ; give not thy enemies an occasion of double triumph, in that they have driven thee from thyself, as well as from the Grand Signior's happy presence. Thou hast money and jewels enough left to purchase thee a competent felicity any where ; or at least thou hast virtue, which renders every place a paradise. Associate thyself with the other exiles in that city, victims to a royal caprice, suffered with all their immense riches, to make a pompous and magnificent entry into that metropolis of Egypt, but soon after stripped of all their wealth, and sacrificed to the court avarice. So were the consecrated bulls of old, dressed up in stately equipage, their horns and hoofs all gilded over with gold, adorned with ribbons of costly silks, their bodies covered over with mantles of brocade and tissue, embroidered with pearls and precious stones, and trailing on the pavements of Apollo's temple, whilst the priests stood ready at the altar to dispatch whole hecatombs of these gay sacrifices.

Your case is not so bad at Cairo, in that your lives are spared, and you at liberty to carve new fortunes to yourselves wherever you please ; you ought to aid and counsel one another in your misfortunes. It is a comfort to the miserable to have companions in their sad estate ; insinuate thyself into the bassa's favour ; he may do something to alleviate thy grief, he will measure thy circumstances by his own, considering that he has but three years to enjoy his present wealth and grandeur.

Go to the banished musti, if he be living at Cairo ; desire his spiritual advice ; perhaps thou mayest receive into

the bargain some temporal advantage from it ; he has a greater influence on some of the Egyptian beys than the Grand Signior has himself. You are all alike embarked in one affliction, whose essence does consist in being degraded from your former honours, (though in different degrees) and being separated from your friends, that bask in the immediate lustre of imperial dignity. It is your business therefore now to find out some new source of happiness ; to make new friends, since you have lost the old, or at least to prop up one another by a mutual friendship, not to be broke or dissipated, but by a destiny equal to the former ; and then you have no more to do but prosecute your several interests, and be resigned to fate.

As for thee, I am particularly solicitous, being engaged together from our youth by a reciprocal participation of good offices, which was the effect of a deep-rooted and strong sympathy ; the agreeableness of humour united first our souls, and taught us the mysterious lessons of Platonic love ; we saw each other, and were straight inspired with sacred inclinations ; my eye no sooner fixed on thine, but through that perspective I could see the inward virtue of thy soul, which immediately produced a veneration in my breast ; and I soon found our hearts beat time to one another ; this generous passion afterwards increased as we grew up, and what it lost of its first violence, is gained by acquiring a more lasting strength, more durable integrity, and constant faithfulness ; our joys and griefs were still the same ; no prosperous or adverse fortune could ever change our minds, to warp us either to flattery or contempt ; but with an even mind we still sustained the different accidents of human life, and propped up one another with a tight affection, till it was the will of fate to separate us, I being made a slave in Sicily, whilst thou enjoyedst the smiles and favours of thy

infant fortune, which introduced thee first to the seraglio; afterwards I gained my freedom, and returned to the imperial city, and to the palace of the sultan, but was not suffered long to enjoy that happiness, being appointed for this hazardous post in Paris.

I tell thee, Mehemet, I reckon my case far worse than thine, in that I am forced to take my constant residence up amongst these infidels. Could my propitious stars encourage me but with the smallest hopes to change my present course of life, I would never repine at what was past, but please myself with flattering prospects of some future and unknown felicity; but to be irrevocably chained down to the oar, without a glimpse of any sign that I shall ever be relieved, is worse than death itself.

Whereas, on the other side, thou art disposed of in the happiest region of the earth, Egypt, the mother of sciences, the midwife of celestial secrets, the nurse of sages, saints, and prophets, the granary of the mussulman empire, and the refuge of distressed mortals. Oh! Mehemet, prize the vast advantage thou hast of me, and others of thy fellow-slaves; improve thy privilege and opportunity of ranging where thou list; go, visit all the antiquities of Egypt, and trace her borders to the west and south; if this will not divert thy melancholy, go farther yet, and search the mighty cataracts of the Nile, which deafen mortals with their fall; go view the Mountains of the Moon in Ethiopia, or see the desolation of the smoky vale, and of the cities whose inhabitants were in a minute metamorphosed into stones, as a memorial of eternal vengeance against crying sins.

But after all, my Mehemet, depart not from thy reason, loyalty, and faith; for these are armour-proof against the assaults of chance and destiny, of men and devils, of



earth and hell ; and when thy travels are finished here on earth, those virtues will not fail to carry thee to heaven.

Paris, 5th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1670.

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II.—*To the Same.*

I CANNOT forbear giving thee the trouble of another letter by this post, that I may yet more encourage thee to a virtuous resignation to the will of fate, which thou knowest is inexorable.

There is an eternal law fixed in the universe, which admits of no repeal ; no prayers or tears of passionate mortals, no vows, alms, pilgrimages, or any other supererogating works, can move the destinies ; they are more inflexible than the judges of the old Athenian Areopagus ; and the unchangeable edicts of the Median empire might sooner be reversed than the decrees of fate.

If thou couldst make corban with an hundred thousand sheep, and feed the poor of all the East, according to the mussulman practice, or sacrifice as many bulls after the fashion of the ancient gentiles, couldst thou monopolise all the aromatics of the Orient, to compound the most exalted incense, and make a pyramid of odoriferous smoke ascend high as the shadow of the earth at midnight, whereby the heaven of heavens should be all perfumed, and every sleeping deity should be awakened by the fragrant smell ; couldst thou bribe the choirs above to tune the spheres anew, and raise the sweetest harmony that ever reached the Eternal Sense, yet all would not prevail to alter the resolves of Heaven, or reinstate thee in thy former honour. No, my Mehemet, thou art lost for ever at the seraglio ; the face of things is changed since thou hast been in Egypt ; thy friends are all dispersed abroad.

in the world, or dead, which is but another kind of separation; there are no hopes now left thee of ever returning again to that proud city which inherits the character of ancient Rome, the lady of the earth. I wish the Roman luxury be not alike entailed.

Rouse up, my friend, and look not on thy state through the deceitful optics of thy passion, but let reason light the prospect. Thou wert before a slave, now thou art free and master of thyself. However, to rid thee of the very idea, or fancied misery, I counsel thee once again to travel.

Go, make the speediest retreat thou canst out of the limits of the Ottoman empire, that thou mayest forget thy cares and fears; take not the way by Barbary, nor covet to see the place where ancient Carthage was situated; be not curious to inquire after Queen Dido, Æneas, or Hannibal, or to hear some stories of the famous Scipio; nor would I counsel thee to pass the kingdoms of Morocco and Fez; for though those realms pay no obedience to the sultan, yet they are his allies, and that reflection will always keep thee in pain; besides, the sight of muselmans will terrify thy mind, and fill thee with a thousand apprehensions.

Go rather the directest way thou canst unto the kingdoms of the negroes, or black people inhabiting the Torrid Zone; but take this rule, be sure to coast along the river Nile, as near as the roads of Afric will permit, that so thou mayest avoid the horrible and affrighting deserts of Lybia, Nubia, and Zanfar, with other inhospitable mountainous parts between the tropic of Cancer and the Equinox; for thou wilt not find it very pleasant to encounter and converse with none but dragons, basilisks, and other monsters of those regions; and yet, for ought I

know, it is better than to fall into the hands of human savages.

I know not how to give a general character of the southern blacks, since every province varies in its particular principles, customs, laws, and institutions. The Abyssines are Christians; so are the inhabitants of Congo, Songo, Angola, and other countries bordering on the Upper Ethiopia; those that dwell along the Red Sea are generally Mahometans; they discourse also of a very populous country thereabouts, possessed by Jews alone; and there are authors who assert a female kingdom, a nation of Amazons; it is certain on the western side they are all pagans.

It will be worth thy labour to observe the different humours of these people, and make comparison between the ancient and this modern gentilsim, to abstract their morals from their superstitions, and tell me then, whether they do not better deserve the title of true believers than we musfulmans, since they act according to their faith, whereas we go by a quite contrary method. They believe no other gods but their domestic priests, and these they never willingly offend; whereas, whilst we profess the Eternal Unity, we scruple not to sin against him every hour. They circumcise, wash, pray, abstain from meats, give alms as well as we; their justice is as strict, their mercy soft as ours; in fine, they are men differing from us only in colour, education, and the peculiar maxims of their country, which they rigorously observe, and hope for happiness thereby, as we do by obeying the law brought down from heaven.

Mebenet, our holy prophet has said, "That whosoever lives innocently, and does justice, whether he be a Christian, Jew, or Pagan, shall be saved as well as his disciples."

Therefore in all thy travels, despise not any man for his

religion, be it never so ridiculous in appearance, provided he be good and honest in his conversation; much less condemn those Africans for their colour, since black and white are all alike to him who first gave man the power to know the difference.

Mehemet, if thou acceptest my advice, take also my wishes for thy good voyage and prosperity.

Paris, 5th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1670.

III.—*To the MUFTI, Venerable Patron of Learning and Knowledge.*

From thy clemency I will not fear a charge of negligence, in that I have delayed to perform the task thou enjoinedst me. Thou knowest my circumstances, and wilt consider that though I have read books, yet I have not a library of my own. It is true I often frequent those of this city, but my seasons are limited either to those hours when the libraries are opened, or to those I can spare from the affairs of my commission. I cannot serve the Grand Signior, and follow my studies both at once; yet I have outpassed frugality, and turned a niggard of my time; that I might obey the great oracle of true believers, and promote a work for which I have so passionate a regard.

The inclosed paper contains the size of the volume, which I conceive will be most proper for so great a work, with the contrivance of the pages, which I have divided into columns, that so the years of the world, the date of the Olympiads, with other remarkable eras, may be ranked in order, each parallel with the rest; and all with the matter treated of at such a time.

This I have done in the inclosed paper, not thinking it proper to interrupt the series of my letter with a blank scheme, which is for the use of the compilers, but to present thee with a transient view of the four monarchies, which have made such a noise in the world, wherein thou needest not fear the fatigue of a tedious continued history, for I design only to cull out such passages as are most diverting, and worthy of perusal.

To begin then with the Assyrian monarchy, which was the first of the four : This nation was for a great while contented with its own bounds, without seeking to encroach on the territories of others ; and Ninus was the first of the Assyrian kings who enlarged his dominions by conquest ; he subdued the greatest part of Asia, and raised Assyria to the title of an empire.

After his death, Semiramis his wife took upon her the government, counterfeiting the person of Ninyas his son, who was as yet but a child : She wore the habit of a man, and being like her son, passed for him, as the lawful successor, unsuspected. This virago enlarged the conquests of her husband, and spread her empire from India to Ethiopia, and ; to lay the foundation of an immortal fame, she built Babylon.

To her succeeded Ninyas her son, of whom nothing is remarkable but his effeminacy ; for, neglecting the affairs of war, he spent all his time among his concubines ; and the same stain is fastened on his successors, even to Sardanapalus, in whose death the Assyrian monarchy suffered an interruption, being canonised into petty royalties by the governors of provinces ; among whom those who assumed the crown of Babylon were of most note, in regard they first recovered the broken empire to its old grandeur and unity.

By a succession therefore of many kings, in reference to whose actions history is silent, the monarchy descended to Merodac Baladan, in whose days happened that wonderful retrogradation of the sun, mentioned by Hebrew writers and others, which occasioned those famous controversies among the philosophers and astronomers of that age mentioned in the Persian chronicles; for they observing that not only the sun, but the whole planetary system, and all the fixed stars, went back at the same time, or at least seemed to do so, began to revive that curious question about the motion of the earth which the Chaldeans and Gymnosophists of India had started before, when the sun and moon stood still at the burning of *Ida*; and it was concluded by some of them, that the motion of the earth being granted, its standing still, or going back at these extraordinary times would solve all the astronomical appearances better, and in a more natural way, than by supposing such a prodigious stop to be put to the whole celestial frame at one time, or that the everlasting spheres should be rolled backwards at the other.

This dispute was the occasion of that famous conflux of the eastern sages to Babylon mentioned in the Persian poets and historians; for Baladan being very inquisitive after knowledge, and particularly desirous to be informed in the grounds of this preternatural appearance, sent messengers into India, Egypt, Persia, and all kingdoms where learning flourished, inviting the astrologers, priests, magicians, prophets, and all that had the character of wise men, to come to his court at Babylon, where they were magnificently entertained; and when they had fully satisfied all the king's demands, he sent them away laden with gifts and presents, every man to his own country.

Arkianus succeeded Baladan in the kingdom of Babylon, in whose time Ecbatan was built : To him succeeded Belithus, Aphronadins, Rigibelus, Messisimordacus ; after whom the kingdom was again translated to the Assyrians, in the reign of Escharhaddon, in the 3323d year of the world, and the 24th olympiad. During the empire of this Escharhaddon the Assyrian monarch, Chalcedon, that lies over-against the imperial city, was built by the Thracians, in the 25th olympiad, and the 3329th year of the world.

To Escharhaddon succeeded Saosduchinus, Chyladanus, Nabopolassar ; in the reign of which last, Necho, King of Egypt, attempted to cut a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, wherein he employed an hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians ; but discouraged by the slow progress they made, and the vast expences he was at, he gave it over.

This Nabopolassar once more raised the kingdom of Babylon to an universal monarchy, for before his time it had been for some years in the hands of the Assyrians ; but he subdued all Syria, Phœnicia, Judea, and Egypt, and expelled the Scythians out of Asia.

To him succeeded his son Nebuchadnezzar, who dreamed of the four universal monarchies that were to succeed one another. In his reign was born the grand Cyrus, who raised the Persian monarchy. Of him it is recorded, that one night he dreamed, " the sun stood at his feet, whom when Cyrus thrice attempted to lay hold on, the sun as often disappeared ; " which the magi interpreted as a sure sign that he should reign thirty years, which came to pass accordingly.

During this reign, there was a notable duel fought between Pittacus, one of the seven wise men of Greece, and Phrynon the most renowned combatant of those days, for

for he always won the prize at the olympic games. He was general of the Athenians, and being puffed up with his constant successes, he defied any man to single combat. Pittacus the sage accepted the challenge; and when they were hotly engaged in the field, he suddenly threw a filken net over Phrynon's head, and having thus entangled him, thrust him through with his lance:

This was that great Nebuchadnezzar, who having besieged and taken Jerusalem, burnt it down to the ground, razed the walls, and carried away all the Jews with their riches into captivity to Babylon.

Afterwards having conquered all the neighbouring nations, he new-built Babylon, and inclosed it with three walls; he also built those pendulous gardens, renowned throughout the earth, and made those brazen gates which were reckoned among the wonders of the world: But at length, being puffed up with the thought of his magnificent works, he was metamorphosed into a satyr or sylvan, and dwelt seven years in the Desarts of Arabia, being a companion of the brutes. My countrymen show the places of his wild haunt to this day, having received it by tradition from their fathers. They say also, that Parmiel, the angel of the woods, when the term of seven years was expired, interceded with God for Nebuchadnezzar, who thereupon turned him into a man again, and restored him to his empire. He died peaceably in the 3442d year of the world, and the 43d of his reign.

To him succeeded Evil-Merodach, Neriglissor, Laborsarchod, and Labynitus, in whose time there was war between the Babylonians and Persians; when Cyrus, after many victorious campaigns, at last laid siege to Babylon, took the city, and translated the empire to the Persians; and having subdued all the west of Asia, even to the Red Sea, he died at seventy years of age, come



manding his servants not to embalm his body, nor use any costly pomp at his funeral, but burying him decently like a man, should cause this epitaph to be written on his tomb :

O mortals, I am Cyrus who laid the foundation of the Persian monarchy, and was emperor of all Asia ; therefore envy me not a grave.

To him succeeded Cambyfes his eldest son, who marching with his army into Egypt, and laying siege to Pelusium, caused a great number of cows, apes, birds, and other animals, to be placed in the front of his army, knowing that the Egyptians worshipped such for gods, and consequently would forbear to shoot their arrows that way ; by which stratagem he took the city, and afterwards conquered all Egypt, carrying away many thousands of the Egyptians, with foreigners residing there, into captivity, among whom was Pythagoras the philosopher.

After this, Cambyfes sent spies, under the notion of ambassadors, to the King of Ethiopia, with rich presents ; but the king suspecting what was their business, took a bow in his hand, and bent it as though he would shoot ; and giving it to the spies, he bid them carry it to their master, and tell him, " That when he and his Persians had learned to bend bows of that strength, he might think of invading Ethiopia, and not before ; for that the Ethiopians were giants in vigour." And when the spies returned to Cambyfes, there was no man found among his soldiers which was able to bend that bow ; yet he marched directly towards Ethiopia with a great army, part of which was overwhelmed in the sands of the deserts, to the number of fifty thousand, and the rest being reduced for want of provisions to a necessity

of eating one another, he returned in a great rage to Memphis, where he slew Apis the god of the Egyptians, and caused his priests to be massacred; he also slew his own brother, and killed his wife, because she mourned for him; he shot Prexaspes through with an arrow, and commanded twelve Persian nobles to be buried alive; he set fire to the temples, blasphemed the gods, and at last killed himself by an accident with his own sword.

After his death, the magi crowned one of their own order, and set him on the throne of Persia, giving out that he was Smerdis the younger son of Cyrus, who had been murdered by the command of his brother Cambyfes; and it was easy to carry on the fraud, in regard the Persian kings rarely suffer themselves to be seen, which is a custom, thou knowest, observed by all the monarchs in the East.

One Ostan, a Persian prince, first discovered the cheat by means of his daughter, a concubine of the king; for she, by his instruction, found out that the king had no ears, which was a convincing argument that he was one of the magi, whose ears Cambyfes had commanded to be cut off.

This Ostan drawing six other princes into a conspiracy, rushed into the palace, and killed all the magi, and singled out of their own number one Darius, the son of Hyftaspes, to succeed in the throne. This was not done by election, but by lot; for they agreed to meet altogether, one morning, before the palace gates, on horseback, and that he whose horse first neighed after the sun was up, should be king. This fell to Darius's share, by the stratagem of his squire or master of the horse; then the other princes crowned him, and made him swear by the sun and the fire, that he would never put them to death, or deny them his presence.

But Darius finding himself curbed by these princes, was resolved to rid himself of such dangerous companions; wherefore he caused a stove to be built on purpose for a banqueting-house, and so artificially contrived, that the fire-place being under the banqueting-chamber, should, in so many hours, burn asunder the pillars that supported the said chamber, and cause the floor to fall down into the fire; then he invited these princes to a feast, which he held in his banqueting-house, and was merry with them till the signal was given for him to depart; at which time he left them in the midst of their mirth, and within a while after he was gone, the floor of the chamber fell down, with all that were in it, into the fire underneath, where the princes were soon consumed to ashes.

After this, Darius managed all the affairs of his empire without controul; he ruled over all the provinces of Asia, from India to Ethiopia, containing above an hundred kingdoms; he extended his conquests to the provinces of Greece, and setting forth a prodigious fleet, he sailed into the Mediterranean and Archipelago; he conquered the islands of the Ægean Sea, reduced Chalcedon, and all the cities along the Hellespont and Propontis, even Byzantium itself, the present seat of our august emperors; at length, having reigned prosperously thirty-six years, he died, and left Xerxes his son to succeed him in the throne.

Thou seest, great guide of the faithful, that I have not yet reached to the end of the Persian monarchy, whereas I thought to have comprehended all the four in one letter; for I have only touched upon the most remarkable passages, omitting the main body of the history, which it would be too tedious for thee to peruse.

If thou approvest what I have written, I will continue thus to abbreviate the history of the Persian, Macedonian,

and Roman empires in other letters; but if thou thinkest what I have already written to be a sufficient model for the compilers of an universal history, I submit to thy oracular appointments,

In the mean time, I pray the King Eternal, who establishes and dissolves all the empires in the world, and has put into the possession of the Grand Signior those ample tracks of the earth which formerly belonged to the successive monarchies, to extend the limits of the mussulman empire through the five zones.

Paris, 17th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1670.

IV.—To MIRMAËOLIN, *Santon of the Vale of Sidon.*

IT was a long time before I could find out the true secret of human happiness; I have for many years groped after it in the dark, and when I thought I enjoyed a prospect of it, as clear as of things we discern in the light of a mid-day sun, that sun was little better than the sol mortuorum of the ancient Romans, whose beams served only to give a faint mock glimmering to the ghosts that wander on this side Charon's ferry, and like an ignis fatuus to mislead them up and down in the dark suburbs of Elysium, the fens and marshes of the Stygian Lake; so have I straggled all my life through unknown ways, seeking the road to heaven, yet finding nothing but the paradise of fools.

Sometimes I thought by outward works of virtue to purify myself, and gain perfection: I was punctual in observing every precept of the law, and performed a few acts of supererogation. Confiding too much in the fidelity and inviolable fastness of my wings, the force of my religious passions first formed by nature, afterwards im-

proved by pious tutors, I strove to make heroic flights, and soar above my guide ; but alas ! they were mere borrowed feathers which bore me up so long ; dead artificial wings, cemented to my soul only by education, custom, and the practice of my fathers ; a composition of spiritual wax or glue, which could not stand the brunt of hot and fiery trials, but soon dissolved in my unwarrantable bold approaches to the sun ; so that, in fine, my wings dropped piece-meal off, and I had the fate of Icarus, to fall a victim to my own obstinate zeal and rashness.

Surely our souls are like the Augean stable, which no human power, art, or industry can ever cleanse, did not the messengers and favourites of God, like Hercules, teach us the method of opening a canal from heaven, and letting in the torrent of the river of purification from paradise.

Our vices, hydra-like, still start young infant heads, as fast as we cut off the old ; whereas our virtues are like the Venetian treasure, which being once showed to the Spanish ambassador in many coffers of silver, gold, and jewels, the wise Castilian, desiring to see the bottoms of those wealthy chests turned up, when it was done, made this remark, “ Your riches have no roots, nor grow, like those my master does possess in the Indies.” So are all the boasted excellencies, acquired by human discipline, more inanimate and dead than the artificial productions of minerals, metals, and stones. No traditional chemistry of men can ever revive a soul that is dead to God. Perhaps some theological Paracelsus, Helmont, or Arabian Isfriqui, may, from the ashes of an original flower, raise the fantastic form of it again, I mean the colour and contexture of the leaves ; but none of them is able to bestow the vital sap, the seminal juice, the inward virtue of the once prosperous and flourishing vegetable ; no mortal

can repair what Adam once destroyed ; that protoplast has ruined us all.

Well then, must we despair of remedy ? Shall we decamp, and sneakingly retire to hell, because we cannot take heaven by storm, nor undermine it, nor have recourse to stratagems, nor bribe the garrison, nor make a party amongst the celestial burghers ? No, let us rather lie entrenched within ourselves, till heaven shall voluntarily open its gates, and fally forth in love to invite and lead us in.

Oh ! thrice happy Santone, thou hast experienced what I say ; my resolution is to follow thee, by suffering myself to be gradually abdicated from the world, and from my own will. Vouchsafe to instruct me in the method, lest self-love misguide me to my ruin.

In the mean while, repose thou in the bosom of God, which is the bed-chamber of holy souls.

Paris, 1st of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1670.

V.—*To the SELICTAR AGA, or Sword-Bearer to the Sultan.*

I SHALL entertain thee now with a medley of relations, some containing news of the freshest date, others only informing thee of things done many moons ago, yet pleasant enough in the rehearsal. However, I beg of thee to accept this as a testimony of my devoir and regard, in that I have abundance of letters to write, many friends to gratify, and cannot send the same matter to all. I am forced to parcel out my intelligence, and suit every letter to the genius and station of him to whom I address ; knowing therefore thy particular inclinations, I shall present thee with something very agreeable.

No doubt but thou art acquainted with the Christians carnival, which is a time of public joy, licentiousness, and sport. This year the King and Queen of France observed it with wonderful magnificence.

Among their other divertisements, they were presented with a play, wherein two rival princes, by an ingenious emulation, strove to outvie each other in regaling a princess equally beloved by both. The representation was very fair, and full of majesty. On the right hand of the theatre appeared Apollo in the air, returning to his heaven, after he had chased and routed all the Cyclops, with the serpent Python; on the left was seen the same god on the top of Parnassus, in the midst of the nine muses, scattering flowers on the arts and sciences, which were at the foot of the mountain; then a veil being drawn aside, discovered a sea, surprisngly natural and fine, in the midst of which the gods of many famous rivers appeared; seated on rocks, with Tritons and Cupids ranged on each side upon the backs of dolphins; then from above, amidst the clouds, King Æolus appeared, laying his straight commands upon the winds, that they immediately retire into their caverns, excepting only Zephyr, who, for his soft and gentle breezes, was permitted to be present at this feast; after which came Neptune riding in his cockle chariot, drawn by four sea-horses, attended by a train of gods that dwell within the deep.

Immediately the scenes changed into a champaign, representing the delicious fields of Tempe, where a most excellent and agreeable comedy was acted, to the satisfaction of all the court. I leave the dances, interludes, and other novelties, to thy imagination, assuring thee that all was astonishing and magnificent.

But not to entertain thee longer with these empty trifles, I shall now acquaint thee with something of im-

portance, which is a peace concluded between the king and the State of Algiers. On the second of the 3d moon, the Count de Guiche brought the articles of the treaty to the king from the hands of the Marquis del Martel, lieutenant-general of the French fleet in the Mediterranean.

If thou wouldst know the particulars of this agreement; read the inclosed paper; as for matter of fact, all the French slaves at Algiers were immediately released, upon the signing and sealing the treaty, and delivered up to the French commander, with some French vessels also which they had seized; and so dishonourable are their capitulations, that at the same time they have yielded up a ship of theirs which the French had taken from them, for ever quitting all claim to it.

In the beginning of May the king took his journey to Flanders, to visit his new conquests there. This put his enemies into a great consternation, fearing that he had some design upon them; they began to be upon their guard, and prepare for a sudden surprize; but the king perceiving their alarm by his spies, sent them assurance on his royal word that he would do them no violence at this time.

However, he soon after sent the Marechal de Crequi into Lorrain, with a force considerable enough to reduce that prince to reason, who had not kept his parole with him in several instances. The effect of this expedition was the reducing Ponta-Mousson, Espinal, Chaste, Longwy, and all the principality of Lorrain, to the French king's obedience; so that the poor duke is forced to seek his refuge in foreign courts.

Noble aga, this duke is not to be pitied, being very ungrateful, and a perfect madman; he owes his liberty and life to the King of France, yet could not forbear



plotting against him; now he is deservedly chastised for his folly. So may all those suffer who abuse their benefactors; but upon the benign and good may the favours of Heaven rest till the splitting of all things.

Paris; 13th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1670.

VI.—To ISOUF, his Kinsman, a Merchant at Afracan.

I RECEIVED thy letter, and perused it with much complacency, finding thy sentiments very agreeable to reason. Yet give me leave to warn thee of an excess which thou art running into; for I have had experience of its ill consequence.

Thy losses have made thee melancholy, and the fraudulent dealing of thy correspondents, factors, and supposed friends, has taught thee to declaim against friendship, men, and business; and not only so, but it seems thou hast taken a resolution to abandon all worldly affairs, pleasures; and engagements whatsoever, and turn saquir, eremit, or dervise at least; for thou art disgusted at human society, and weary of all things but solitude.

I must confess, Isouf, these are very generous thoughts, and pious resolves; but they are not easily put in practice; they are undertakings fit only for perfect saints, men of unblemished lives, and free from all sorts of vice, persons who have a stock of temperance, chastity, prudence, justice, fortitude, patience, humility, and all the other virtues, a fund of magnanimity, which can never be exhausted by any temptation, difficulties, or perils that usually assault and environ such as enter into so austere a course of life.

Wilt thou be able to endure the unrelenting rigid cold of winter in the desert, where there are no chimneys,

hearths, or stoves, or any other method of keeping fire to warm thee by ? Canst thou sustain the raging blasts of Boreas at that season, or the killing tempests of north-eastern winds, which blow from far, and fill the air, the earth, and sea, with baneful mists, frosts, ice, snow, sleet, and other chilling meteors, out of their eternal magazines, within the arctic circle, which Ovid calls the Frigid Zone.

There are many other extremities to which a man is exposed in such a solitary state ; nor wilt thou be less liable to inconveniencies and hardships if thou shouldst ramble as a faquir up and down the world ; much less couldst thou endure the sad restraints and mortifications of a convent ; thou wouldst hardly live out thy noviciate with patience. It goes against the grain of nature to obey another's will in every trifling matter that he commands ; thou must not eat or drink but thy superior will set the place, the time and manner of thy diet, which will be irksome to thy free-born soul ; and then thou must forsake thy amorous pleasures for ever ; forswearing also the very thoughts of money, or of being rich. I tell thee thou must resolve to become a religious drone, fit for nothing but to mumble over thy beads, or turn the superstitious round till thou art giddy, or dance an hour together to the music of a thousand hues and heis, hoarsely croaked out in frantic tones by thee, and all thy brethren dervises, till ye are sick, and foam at mouth ; then your devotions are thought meritorious. Canst thou digest these sacred fooleries ? or, grant this to be a rational service of the Divinity, as some will plead, who say we ought to employ each member, and all our faculties, in praising him that made them, yet canst thou brook a confinement all thy days to this religious state ?

I tell thee, Ifouf, I have been often tempted in this

manner to forsake the sultan's service, with all other engagements of the world, and throw myself into a convent, or spend the residue of my days in some obscure and solitary corner of a desert, yet I found at length that this was nothing but delusion, and the subtle sophistry of that malicious demon who envies man his happiness ; it is he that whispers arguments of discontent and murmuring into our souls, watching his opportunities when any thing gives us exquisite pain or grief, to drive us to despair.

So have I sometimes laboured under an intolerable anguish of mind, besides the fretting maladies of flesh and blood, with outward crosses in my fortune ; then have I wished myself in some dark cavern of the earth, or on the solitary top of Teneriff, where I should converse with none but spirits and demons dwelling above the clouds ; or else I coveted the melancholy retirements of the Lybian Desert, which affords no other society than that of lions, tygers, dragons, and other beasts of prey.

When these wishes have appeared too extravagant and wild, I then retrenched my thoughts, and pitched upon some other manner of life, equally promising comfort, yet less threatening and dangerous ; I gave myself up wholly to prayer and fasting for a while, thinking to hold out thus for ever. So sensible a pleasure attends these exercises, that at certain moments a man is all rapture, ecstasy, and I know not what ; he is apt to think himself in some new world ; a sacred pride invests his soul ; he seems all majesty within, an inseparable companion of the immortals, and the darling friend of God ; whereas all this results but from the ventilation of his blood by vocal orisons, and is no more than a mere natural operation, whereby his lungs are artificially breathed, and gently forced to disembody their overheated airs, their thick

caliginous vapours, which fill the heart and all the rest of the vitals with seeds of melancholy, fear, suspicion, grief, and other doleful passions.

But mark the zealot, when his prayers are over, his fast is done, and all his fervent pious discipline is accomplished, how like an hypocrite he looks and acts? How formal in his carriage, or at least how vain and light? He either heaves out fulsome hypochondriac sighs, with supercilious looks, and chops set like the furrows of a sour-faced hadgi, or else he is tickled into a loud ungovernable laughter, and all his carriage is ridiculous and wanton; either his hunger, thirst, and faintness, the usual effect of such excessive devotion, makes him peevish, choleric, and unmortified, or else he is as apish as a cat.

Human nature cannot abide long in the same humour; and those that seem to be always even-tempered people, like the Caspian Sea without ebb or flow, are only counterfeits and politicians. There is an art to conceal one's passions, but there is none that can annihilate them; we change from one affection, appetite, and desire to another; our inclinations circulate with our blood; they are transformed each minute, hour, and day; they vary like the wind and weather; therefore never think of taking an eternal pleasure or distaste in any thing here below. Prayer is good in its turn, I mean the vocal aspirations; so are fasting, abstinence, and other religious severities; but if all men should be perpetually at these exercises, God in a little time would have but few adorers on earth; the ground must be left untill'd; the fields would quickly bring forth crops of briars and weeds, instead of corn; the gardens then must turn to wildernesses; there would be then no need of millers, bakers, and the other trades whose livelihood depends upon the

husbandman ; and so for want of proper sustenance mankind must quickly perish.

I do not argue against those who seem to be constellated to a solitary life, or by some special grace of God are strengthened to endure the constant hardships of an hermitage ; such as the illustrious and great Mohammed of Mount Uriel in Arabia, who is our holy prophet's tenant and successor in the Cave of Wonders ; such also is Ilich Rend Hu, the celebrated bramin of Cachemire in India, who lives on the top of an high mountain, is an hundred and twenty-three years old, foretels things to come, resolves all doubts, gives infallible counsel, heals divers diseases, works some miracles, and, in fine, says and does all things by a spirit worthy of admiration.

The mountain whereon this philosopher or prophet dwells seems to be the land-mark between summer and winter ; for one side of it is always covered with snow, the other with blossoms, flowers, herbage, and fruits ; this overlooking a spacious valley, which they call the Paradise of the East ; that affording a prospect little more agreeable or fair than what the poets speak of the Riphean Hill.

Ilich Rend Hu has his habitation in a cave or grot, which passes through the rock, as Virgil's does near Naples in Italy, which thou hast seen.

In this mysterious station he appears like Æolus lord of the weather ; for it is certain, he commands the winds to blow or cease at the least word within the verge of his accustomed walks. If any person dare profane the silence of the place with words, or other ruder noise, they are immediately surpris'd with dreadful storms of thunder, lightning, wind, and rain ; such as seem to threaten the dissolution of all things ; which makes all men in those parts hold Ilich Rend Hu in great veneration ; he is the

only oracle of the Indies ; they resort to him from the neighbouring provinces and kingdoms in all their difficulties ; the grandees of Persia, Tibet, and Cathay, send to him honourable presents, desiring his counsel in matters of peace and war ; nay, they make devout pilgrimages to him from the kingdoms of Tonquin and China ; he is the Apello of the East.

If only, it would be some encouragement for thee and me to embrace a solitary life, if we might ever hope to attain such wonderful perfections ; but as we have hitherto lived in the world, and stained ourselves with the common vices of mortals, we cannot presume to merit these extraordinary favours ; our old habits are rooted in us, and if we have time and strength to plant new ones in their stead, yet they will not grow up to maturity but with many years ; for believe me, cousin, nobody becomes a devil or a saint all at once.

Paris, 6th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1670.

#### VII.—*To the CHIAUS BASSA.*

IT appears that the King of France's fortune not only procures him constant victories and triumphs in Europe, but such a renown and character in foreign countries, as stimulates the most remote princes and puissant monarchs of the earth to court his alliance and friendship.

Here is at this present an ambassador come from the coasts of Guinea in Afric, being sent by the King of Arder, one of the greatest sovereigns in those parts, possessing an absolute and uncontrollable authority over his subjects, as the Grand Signior does over the faithful Ottomans ; but we will not compare the narrow limits of his dominion with the vast and unbounded extent of the mus-

fulman empire, the inheritance of our sublime sultan, the lord of the globe at large ; suffice it that this black prince is a wise man, descended of a race of sages, and that policy of state is as natural to him as common craft or cunning to the meanest of the vulgar ; he knows how to make war or peace abroad, and to keep his subjects in awe at home.

Surely there is a force and charm in the derivative blood of heroic and wise ancestors, which secretly inspires their offspring with maxims and principles agreeable to the inclinations, aims, and purposes of the family from whence they descend ; and where it is experienced otherwise, it may be supposed that change of climate, unhappy marriages, or some over-ruling misfortunes in the world, have caused the degeneracy ; for so some noble vegetables of Asia, and other quarters of the earth, lying near the sun, will not prosper if once transplanted into the cold and barren soils of northern Europe. Thus poverty, disgrace, and other abject circumstances, chill the greatest spirits, and spoil their growth ; yet there is an inborn excellency in some natures, which with evenness supports the strokes of fortune, and pushes through all difficulties to attain its end.

So this great African king, informing himself not only by French vessels trading in his ports, but also by other ships of Christendom, of the grandeur of the French king, his wealth and puissance by sea and land, with the vast interest and traffic he has in both the Indies, thought it high time to seek his friendship, whose enmity would in all probability be very fatal to him ; for he had heard of his conquests far and wide. It is no matter whether by valour or good conduct we make ourselves happy ; one is as laudable as the other, in the unequal war we are engaged in with fate, providence, and chance, with

angels, men, and devils, with heaven, earth, and hell.

I speak this in reference to the celebrated prowess, magnanimity, riches, and strength of this negro king, who need not yield to the King of Benin, his next neighbour, and the most potent of all the south-western maritime princes of Afric, nor to any of his other neighbours besides, yet could not think himself safe, or be at rest, till he had sent his embassy to the King of France, offering his lands, his havens, his seas, and whatsoever was within his jurisdiction, to this great monarch.

The address which his ambassador made to the French king deserves remark ; for after the usual obeisances at the foot of the throne, he went up three steps, and then prostrating himself three times on his face and belly, he clapped his hands in token of reverence, and put his fingers on his eyes, to show that he was not able to behold the lustre of so much majesty. This is the French interpretation of his carriage ; but I tell thee it was rather designed as a precedent to the French ambassadors if any should be sent to Guinea, where it is the custom of the country for all foreign ministers to observe the same ceremonies to the King of Arder, and other princes his neighbours.

These Europeans, because they first found out the art of navigation, or at least first improved it to the discovery of many remote countries, value themselves too high, imagining that all the nations formerly unknown are fools, and know not themselves and their own strength. They thought it was impossible to find in Afric or America empires, kingdoms, and commonwealths, as strong and well governed as those in the heritage of Japhet ; but it is a damned mistake ; for the Most High is impartial in the distribution of his gifts and



favours. Those despicable blacks, whom all the princes and nobles of Europe and Asia buy as slaves, being born of the vulgar, are nevertheless come out of regions where power, riches, and wisdom, are as much in their zenith as in these western countries.

They are all outwardly flesh and blood as we are, notwithstanding the contrariety of our colours; and as for their souls, they are even just as capable of knowledge and ignorance, reason and folly, vice and virtue, piety and profaneness, superstition and atheism, as we are, who pretend to be lords of the world, and all things.

May thou and I practise moderation, and not condemn any of human race, though they be the caphirs of Mosambique; but let us always remember the old Turkish proverb, "That it is not good or safe to point in mockery behind the Grand Signior's back." Adieu.

Paris, 3d of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1670.

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VIII.—*To MOHAMMED, the illustrious Solitary of Mount Uriel in Arabia.*

THE grand root of the common injustice which men are guilty of in reference to the beasts, and of the intemperance with which they corrupt themselves, I perceive is a false principle which they have established, denying the capacity and use of reason to all living creatures but themselves.

This error was first publicly maintained by the Peripatetics, Stoics, and Epicureans, and afterwards by Claudius of Naples, out of a particular aversion they had for the doctrines of Pythagoras and Empedocles, two famous patrons of abstinence.

Heraclitus Ponticus undertook to explain the senti-

ments of the former sects, and Hermachus those of the latter; but both of them seem to confide more in the little tricks and arts of sophistry than to use true reason; for at the first essay of their skill, they strive to cast a mist in the reader's eyes, by dividing the generations of living creatures into such as are endowed with the faculty of reason, and such as want it; whereas thou knowest it is an indubitable maxim in the eastern philosophy, that every thing which partakes of sense has also reason; for it is the mind alone which sees, hears, &c. the body of itself being deaf, blind, and void of all sense. It is evident, therefore, that since the beasts do see, hear, and perform all other actions of sense, they have also what the Greeks call *νῆς*, or the mind, in them, which is the very seminary or native seat of reason.

It is true, indeed, we cannot affirm that they possess a reason so perfect as ours, since that perfection is acquired by discipline, which the generality of the brutes want; they have no colleges or schools where the arts and sciences are professed and taught by rules; nature is their only schoolmistress, and they learn her instructions with abundance of promptness and sagacity; they are educated in the open elements, as in an academy or university founded by the Creator of all things, where every thing they encounter serves as a book to teach them all the knowledge which is necessary to their well-being on earth, and they need no more.

It is manifest also that some species and individuals are more capable of learning what is taught them than others; even as we discern the same difference among the various nations, families, and persons of men. But we do not use to say of inanimate things, that this piece of wood is more apt to learn than another, as a dog is more tractable and docile than a hog; nor of immoveable things,

that this is slower than that ; nor of things which want sense, that a stone is duller of apprehension than a piece of iron. So could we not properly affirm of animals, that one is more crafty and sagacious than another, more provident, chaste, temperate, cleanly, and the like epithets, if they were not by nature capable of knowledge and virtue : And yet we daily see all this is true, in comparing one species of living creatures with another, nay, and one individual of the same kind with some of its fellows.

When Antipater accused asses and hogs of nastiness, he did not consider how accurately nice and curious the lynxes and cats are, which with so much diligence and care hide their excrements, that they can never be seen or smelt again ; so the swallows teach their young to mute over the brims of the nest ; all which are arguments of their prudence and discretion. Doubtless every animal has its peculiar gift and excellency ; one is more quick-sighted than another ; this has better ears than that ; a third surpasses in the goodness of his smell, or the swiftness of his feet. Let not vain man therefore boast and insult, as if he were the sole engrosser of all wisdom and virtue, since the beasts of the field, the birds of the air, the fish of the sea, with all the generations of reptiles, insects, and whatsoever is endowed with life and sense, possess their shares as well as he.

It is manifest also that there are various principles of folly, injustice, and all manner of ignorance, error, and vice, in human nature, equal to what we can possibly find in the rest of animals, whom we so much despise ; and it is a question whether even the very sea-horse, who murders his father, and for that reason was by the ancient Egyptians made the hieroglyphic of impiety, may not justly exchange his character with some of human race.

who make their parents the continual martyrs to their ambition, pride, envy, avarice, and other vices.

I would fain know whether any man would not take it ill to be told he is blind and deaf, because he cannot see and hear so quick as some of the beasts; or that he is a cripple, because he cannot outrun a hart? Certainly a strong man deserves that character, though he cannot pretend to match the strength of a camel or an elephant. And shall we then say that the beasts have no reason or virtue, because they cannot discover those qualities so artificially as men?

Besides, do not all privations suppose some habits? and is not madness a privation of the habits of reason and prudence? If therefore dogs, bulls, foxes, and other animals, are known to be sometimes mad, shall we think it less fit to say of them, that they are out of their minds or wits, than to affirm the same of men? and if *compos*, or *non compos mentis*, are proper expressions of any beast when it is sober or mad, who that is not deprived of reason himself can deny that they have the possession of that faculty by nature, as well as he?

As oft as I trouble thee with letters on this subject, thou mayest conclude I am newly awakened to a sense of my error, in not religiously observing the sacred institution of abstinence, which ought to be the natural consequence of these thoughts; for, in a word, if it be lawful to kill the animals for the sake of food, I think we may as well turn cannibals, and eat the flesh of our purchased slaves, or of our captive enemies, over whom we have, by the law of nations, an equal right, as to their life and death, as over our beasts.

Abstemious sage, I leave thee to the divine inspirations of the genius which possesses that Holy Cave; I leave thee to the sacred whispers of winds from Eden, and to

the sweets of an innocent solitude, which admits no other society than that of angels or beasts.

Paris, 26th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1671.

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IX.—*To ZEIDI ALAMANZI, a Merchant at Venice.*

I RECEIVED thy last dispatch, which informs me that thou art commanded to remove from Venice with all speed possible, and to visit Naples, Genoa, Rome, Padua, Milan, Florence, with the other chief cities of Italy; in fine, that thou art not to make a long residence, or take up thy abode any where, but after the manner of a traveller, to be always in a moving posture from place to place, from one province and principality to another, that thou mayest take a just estimate of the strength and riches of each state through which thou shalt pass; that thou mayest dive into their counsels, observe their motions, watch their designs, and transmit thy remarks to the ministers of the august divan, the mysterious cabinet of the earth's great sovereign.

There may be less of profit in such a peregrination for the present, than in thy constant residence at Venice, where thou art established in a settled way of merchandise; but thou wilt find abundance more pleasure; and if thou acquittest thyself successfully, the Grand Signior will reward thy merit. Besides, thou mayest meet with a thousand opportunities of traffic even in thy travels; an active and diligent spirit cannot fail of means to advance its own interest in any part of the world, and thou dost not want a stock of money to support thy honest undertakings.

Thou wilt meet with a new sort of Italians wherever thou shalt set thy foot, that people being strangely

mixed, and descending from several nations. Every city has a different genius, which is so remarkable and conspicuous, that they have all got peculiar epithets; as Rome the Holy, Naples the Gentle, Florence the Fair, Bologna the Fat, Milan the Large, Ferrara the Civil, Bergamo the Subtle, Genoa the Proud, Padua the Strong, Siena the Studious, Mantua the Glorious, Lucca the Industrious, Ravenna the Mild, Capua the Amorous, Urbino the Loyal, Verona the Worthy, Brescia the Fortified, Friuli the Wanton, Rimini the Good; and so of the rest.

Beware of contracting friendship with any Italian; and if thou dost engage, be cautious how thou givest a just offence. Thou canst not be too tender in this point; for as the Italians are very constant where they have once pitched their affection, so are they inexorable in their revenge, where they apprehend their love abused; and they are the most jealous people in the world. If thou hast made two false steps, never seek to repair thy fault by after-submissions, but fly; for thou hast wounded his soul, and he will never pardon thee, or let thee live to be guilty of another affront. They have a common maxim in this case, "He that wrongs me twice, it is his fault; but if I let him injure me the third time, the blame is my own."

The wisest course is to be civil and modestly reserved, not to be too frank and open in discourse, or loose in carriage; for this lays a man naked, and exposes him to the contempt and censure of such as are more composed and recollected; and this is the peculiar character of the Italians, "That they think more than they speak, and are many times disgusted at the person on whom they smile."

When thou art on the roads in Apulia and Campania, when thou beholdest the beauties of that luxuriant soil; and thy smell is ravished with the fragrant odours of the hedges, and adjoining groves, think on elysium, paradise, or whatsoever place nature has made delightful, and say it must be in this country, or in some region very like it.

As thou sojournest at Naples, remember with what pleasure Virgil passed away his time there; it was in that happy air that Horace penned his admirable poems; there Livy wrote the Roman History, and Seneca his Morals; from thence we have the works of Statius, Claudian, Laurentius Valla, and many other learned writers.

Forget not, when thou art at Genoa, the former glory of that commonwealth, how once she did possess Sardinia, Cyprus, Lesbos, Chios, and did extend her conquests to Pera near Constantinople; how she entered the Black Sea, planted a colony of Genoese at Caffa, and stretched her dominion to the river Tanais.

Thou wilt find matter of contemplation in Pisa, Milan, Padua, and all the cities of Italy; but when thou art at Rome, it would be a kind of sacrilege not to cast back thy eyes; and view her ancient glory, when she was the mistress of the world, when she had three millions of men within her walls, and an hundred and fifty millions of gold in yearly revenue; when she kept in constant pay, at home and abroad, six hundred five-and-forty thousand men. Her foreign conquests may be numbered by her domestic triumphs, which, from Romulus her founder to Augustus Cæsar, were not less than three hundred. Julius Cæsar augmented the public treasury with forty millions of gold. In the reign of Aurelianus, this city was fifty miles in compass, and the number of her inhabitants increased to four millions; and they were prodigi-

ously enriched with the spoils of their enemies. Seneca, when he died, left seven millions and five hundred thousand crowns behind him; Claudius Isædorus, though much exhausted by the civil wars, yet left four thousand one hundred and seventeen slaves, three thousand and sixty yoke of oxen, and of other cattle two hundred and fifty-seven thousand. There were commonly kept in Rome five hundred gladiators, a thousand bears, and an hundred lions; there were always five hundred men employed in looking after the aqueducts and baths of Rome.

When Cyneas, the ambassador of Pyrrhus, had viewed the city round, and was asked what he thought of Rome, he answered, "I think all Rome is but one temple, (for there were above four hundred in the city); her senate is an assembly of kings; she is the beauty of the whole earth; the flower of mankind dwell within her walls."

Zeidi, this was the state, this the grandeur and magnificence of Pagan Rome; but since the incursions of the Goths and Vandals, the Lombards, Huns, and other barbarous nations of the North, Rome's glory is eclipsed, her honour laid in the dust; whereas before, she lifted up her stately crest on seven high hills, now she is fain to stoop, being humbly seated in the plain of Campus Martius, being not by a fifth part so large as formerly, nor yet so populous.

All over Italy thou wilt meet with relics of the ancient Roman majesty and greatness; and in some places thou mayest encounter persons of great extraction, but very poor, who may not unfitly be called the ruins of ancient nobility; such as the Marquisses of Ceva, the Earls of Piacenza, and the Knights of Bologna, who are become the proverb of illustrious poverty. Such also are the



Counts of Luffigniani, three of whom were once seen upon a fig tree, eating the figs to keep them from starving; and many Italian lords get their livelihoods by selling of ptifans, lemonades, essences, powders, and other refreshments to the gentry; yet they are proud, and when any one addresses to them, he must entitle them, Most excellent, Most illustrious, or else they will frown, and be affronted.

Zeidi, if ever it be thy fortune to be made a lord, I pray Heaven give thee an estate answerable to the title; for a lord without riches is like a soldier without arms, very ridiculous.

Paris, 15th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1671.

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#### X.—To DGNET OZLOU.

THIS day something has happened to me very prodigious, and I know not what to make of it. About the hour of Quindinamaf, I was suddenly taken with strange fits of vomiting; my stomach was in a prodigal, or rather a philosophical humour, resolving to cast off all superfluities, and only retain what was necessary to its ease and welfare in this life; I laboured under a thousand horrid agonies, which made me fear that either an imposthume was the cause of such violent convulsions, or at least that they would end in opening the inward sluices of my blood, by too much forcing of the pectoral veins.

Whilst I was busied thus with sad presages of a sudden death, (for I dread to be so unawares thrust out of the world) I longed and passionately languished for an Arabian orange.

It happened at the same time my mother Oucoumiche, Daria, and Eliachim the Jew, were with me in my cham-

ber, and had been there an hour; they all stood at the window to see a procession that was going by; but when they heard the straining noise I made, immediately they ran to my bed-side, as human nature, curiosity, or passion, uses to prompt in such like cases.

With a faint broken voice I told them what I wished for; Eliachim forthwith gave order to his boy that waited in an anti-chamber, to run with speed, and buy the best Arabian oranges he could find.

The arch young lad was gone full thirteen minutes by my watch, and then returned with half a dozen oranges of Spain (for he could get no other); but Heaven, as I have reason to think, supplied his negligence and unsuccessful marketing; for long before he came with that sour, crabbed fruit, Daria spied an orange of Arabia on the table.

Nobody knew from whence it came, or what kind hand had laid it there; they were all equal witnesses, that there was no such thing upon the table when they came to the bed-side, nor a considerable time afterward; and when it was suggested that some of the company had privately conveyed it thither, whilst the rest were looking another way, Eliachim with solemn vows and imprecations cleared himself, so did Daria and my mother; as for myself, they all were sensible it was impossible for me to do it, as I lay in my bed. A general astonishment possessed us all; and the women would needs have it to be a miracle, whilst I greedily eat the delicious fruit, not troubling my thoughts with making endless scrutinies, or so much as caring which way it came there, so long as I had the enjoyment of it.

Yet I ceased to be thus indifferent, when I perceived my malady on a sudden removed by eating of this wondrous orange; and whereas I had lain for six whole days

and nights in a continual faint and languishing condition; not able to get down a morsel of bread, now my spirits grew brisk and fresh, I seemed like one transformed, or in another world; my stomach revived, my almost dissipated vigour rallied, and I rose cheerfully to eat a hearty supper. These things, I must confess, put me, as well as the rest of the company, upon thinking.

I tell thee, upon the strictest examination possible, I am very well satisfied that there could be no design or trick in the case; for if there were, nobody would be guilty of so many repeated horrid perjuries in denying it, but every one rather would have been forward to own themselves the instruments of thus happily and unexpectedly rescuing a poor sick man from the very jaws of death, for I was just then ready to expire.

Whether there be a magic in the strength of a man's fancy at such times, and that through the intense agitation of his exalted spirits, he moves the soul of the universe by sympathy, to exert some of its hidden and uncommon faculties, and gratify his necessary desires; or whether there be an order of officious beings invisible about us, who have the charge of mortals committed to them, and are bound by the laws of their concealed kingdoms to assist us in extremities, even to the height of a seeming miracle, where it cannot be done without, I know not; but it is certain, any observing man may take notice of some extraordinary passages in the course of his life, of which he can give no rational account, but must be forced to put them on the score of preternatural causes; such is our ignorance of the secret operations of nature.

All the company were ready to list me among the prophets; or in the catalogue of saints, for this stupendous occurrence; but I had other thoughts of myself; for

comparing this with some former occurrences of my life, I presently concluded it was the forerunner of some grand but short affliction, and so I told them all.

I believe, my Dignet, that God will hedge me in with divers kinds of adverse circumstances; he will rush upon me on a sudden, like a troop of Tartar horse, who swiftly spread themselves all round the affrighted country, and take possession of the roads and passes; they hunt the conscious infidels from dens and caves, and other lurking places in the woods and mountains; none can escape their chastisement and revenge; so my presaging soul foretels some sad surprising inroads from the Omnipotent.

That which I have to do in this case, is to make speedy expiations for my past security and presumption, to repair the ruined fastnesses of virtue, and build new ones where they are wanting; to keep strong guards; and, lastly, to retire myself into a most profound humility and compliance with the will of God, which is the strongest fortress in time of a divine invasion.

Paris, 23d of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1671.

XI.—To SEPHAT ABERCROMIL, *Vanni Effendi, Preacher to the Sultan.*

THE character and fame of thy exemplary life and profound doctrine, though studiously concealed and suppressed by thyself, have yet made a forcible eruption, and filled the mussulman kingdoms with the fragrant odour of thy incomparable piety and virtue; even these remote and infidel regions of the West are edified by thy sacred rules and institutions of a spiritual life; the Nazarene priests and doctors begin to harbour emulations of thy sanctity, since they have seen no fairer draught of

true acceptable religion, than what the chappains to the French ambassadors at the Porte have copied from thy principles, and recommended to their friends among the clergy of France; infomuch as Francis Malevella, a blind ecclesiastic, but an Argus in the sciences, has publicly espoused thy theorems and practices, having in print now lately undertaken the patronage of a contemplative life, so much insisted on by thee, to which the College of Sorbonne have also given their approbation.

That excellent man, though he has lost the use of his corporeal eyes, yet has a soul transformed all over into light, by which he clearly can survey the vast mysterious horizon of the invisible world, and penetrate the most reclusive and hidden secrets of eternity; the age is ravished with the book he published; he has ten thousand proselytes among the Roman priests and dervises; none but the Jesuits and Dominicans oppose him.

The former of these orders is grown odious throughout Christendom, for the impious doctrines they maintain, and the enormous crimes they have committed, being notorious boutefeus, traitors, hypocrites, and secret libertines; their colleges are esteemed the shops and forges of sedition, faction, public animosities, broils, and wars, with all the mischief that is done in Europe; the latter are not loved in France, because they are generally chosen officers of the Inquisition, which inhuman judicature was first projected by St. Dominic their founder, in order to exterminate the Moors from Spain. There is a natural and irreconcilable antipathy between the French and Spaniards; they mutually abhor each others customs, laws, and humours; but, above all, the French can never be reconciled to that infernal court, which tyrannises over the souls of men, and punishes them for thoughts; it is an equal crime to speak or to be silent, to pray or not,

to go to church or stay at home, provided you are rich ; it is wealth the inquisitors aim at, not the pretended safety and deliverance of the church from enemies and rebels.

Therefore the Dominicans and Jesuits being looked upon as favourers and patrons of the Inquisition, and for that reason hated by the French, in vain they argued against Malevella's new-reformed model of interior religion, which is but a translation of the original dogmata laid down by thee ; thy refined sentiments are prolific as the solar beams, which by ineffable increases, propagate themselves without diminishing the illustrious fountain ; each bright and fertile atom, by a miraculous emanation, begets another ; they multiply by an admirable progressive issue and expansion from every point of the refulgent centre, till every splendid particle becomes a ray of equal length, and all together produce an entire orb of light : Thus thy serene ideas of religion dilate themselves through this dark side of the world as fast as they illuminate the muffled hemisphere ; the honefter sort of western Franks are already, by a demi-metamorphosis, grown half Mahometans, capitulating with their prepossessions, prejudices, and the force of education, for the rest.

They go to church, but not to babble over a thousand vain tautologies, which are taught them by their priests, and to insure their memory are printed in their pocket manuals or books of prayer ; nor do they number a long series of the same repeated orisons on beads, or use any other exterior form of blind and lame devotion ; but with inward recollection, silence, purity, and fervent application of the spirit, they address themselves to God ; or rather by a certain gradual passiveness, oblivion of outward things, and dying to themselves, they prepare and fit their

souls for the divine approaches: Thus having barricaded up their senses, and made retrenchments round the centre of the mind, to secure it from the last invasion and assault of mundane objects, thither they retire, desiring death, rather than to take quarter by a faint cowardice or timorous apostacy, and surrender to the world.

These people undergo, at certain times, strange drynesses, desertions, and sterilities of spirit, which are the torments that compose the most severe and painful martyrdoms. A common death, or any violent dissolution of the body, is but the recreation, sport, or play of nature, when compared with these tremendous, tragical, and dark annihilations of the soul: A man at such a season seems to be reduced to an eternal catastrophe; his spirit descends, and is engulfed in the abyss of hell; or hell comes up to him, and yawning with its horrid dragon's jaws, murders the soul with baneful and infernal breath. Yet this they find to be the only near directest way, to heaven; this is the mystic fence, the ditch, bastion, and counterescarp of paradise. He that would scale the walls, or enter by the gates of Eden, must first pass through these terrible outworks. This is the strait and narrow bridge over which each soul must pass, that would attain immortal life. Moses, Jesus, Mahomet, and all the messengers of God, have pointed at this as the only way to our supreme felicity; neither was it unknown to the ancient poets and philosophers among the gentiles; Orpheus and Hesiod recommended it in their mysterious verse; Empedocles, Theophrastus, Plato, Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, with many others, improved the sacred revelation, adding new lights unto the blest discovery; and if we take the history in a right sense, unless I am deceived, Socrates died a martyr to this important truth. Many of the learned Hebrew rabbis have asserted

it; the Persian and Arabian doctors, before and since the Holy Sight, have been its advocates; and let not envy refuse to give some of the Christian priests their due acknowledgment, who preached this doctrine in the primitive assemblies, taught it in the public schools, and infused it to posterity in learned manuscripts: such were Origen and Ammonius, Clemens of Alexandria, Simplicius, Chrysostom, Tertullian, Augustin; and in more modern times, Thomas Aquinas, Marcilius Ficinus, Bonaventure, with many others.

And it is esteemed the haight of Indian religion to this day, the Bramins delivering it as an hereditary article of faith, and point of practice, from inmemorable ages. Since, therefore, all religions in the world agree in this, notwithstanding their other ceremonial and speculative differences, doubtless it is the voice and will of God, not the contrivance or innovation of man.

Reverend effendi, it is a common proverb among the Christians, "That wheresoever God has a temple, the devil has a chapel." That cunning spirit, like a serpent, winds himself into outward forms and ceremonies of devotion; but he that builds a mosque in the centre of his soul, may bid defiance to Tagot, for that is the throne of God, near which the demon cannot approach.

May thou and I live always screened behind ourselves, for in that dark recess from visible things, the Eternal lives to manifest his otherwise invisible light. Adieu.

Paris, 27th of the 6th moon, of the year 1671.

XII.—To CARA HALI, *Physician to the Grand Signior.*

AFTER all my scepticisms, I at this hour believe there is something of us remains immortal and incorruptible,



when our grosser bodies are dissolved; call it what you will, an astral body, a ghost, a spirit, or any thing else, I am sensible some part of us will never die. What signifies the vain dispute of words, the dark resolves of Plato's cave? Let it be substance or accident, matter or form, or a result of all, there is still a certain portion of our nature, against which the stroke of death, and of ten hundred thousand deaths, can never prevail. We may be changed indeed, and masquerade it up and down, perhaps through infinite worlds, in so many different disguises, but we can never be annihilated, or made nothing; we cannot be excluded from the eternal list of atoms. The loss or absence of the least particle from the universe would either cause the loudest never-ending thunders and lightnings, or an everlasting silence, fullness, and darkness. This mighty aggregate and stupendous heap of beings would fall to ruin, if there were the least vacuum, or the smallest mite missing. Steal but the most indivisible atom from the rest, and down comes all the fabric; for one supports another by an inseparable adhesion, reciprocal congruity, and mathematical fitness; they are so cunningly hitched and knit together, so closely fastened and indented each with other, by the original art or chance which formed the world, that all the motions of this grand machine would at an instant stop, in such a case, as does a watch when the least tooth is missing from any one of the contiguous wheels. Every thing in nature is full and pregnant; neither can there be any other emptiness save what we think we see in bottles, or other hollow vessels, which when they are void of water, wine, or other liquor, it is but to be crammed brimful of air, which element insinuates and crowds itself into each diminutive cranny, chink, and pore of grosser substances; so if the airy atoms have any hollowneses in them, the smallest vacancy possi-

ble is still supplied with its full measure of the pure ether, and that again with some matter more refined, if any such there be, or else it drinks full draughts of immaterial essences; and by such a subordinate gradation, human souls, though in themselves, perhaps, pure incorporeal spirits, are yet fastened and cemented to our bodies. Thus is one being successively and eternally either a syringe, or a sponge to another; the elements inebriate one another by turns; an universal epicurism and drunkenness reigns.

So the hot stomach of the earth, parched with inward mineral fires, greedily guzzles down the very salt unpalatable lees of the sea rather than be a-dry; with a thousand thousand gaping throats, it gulps the beverage which Neptune's deep and mighty cellar runs withal; it pants, and sucks eternally the thick ropy settlements of the ocean's bottom; these are distilled again in hidden limbeck, cylinders, and other chemical vessels below, that so the gaping channels on the superficies may be constantly supplied with more refined liquor, through the springs and fountains; and yet the globe not having quenched its thirst with this perpetual draught, continually sips up the rain, a liquor more sublime and pure than all the rest; but this is only on certain holidays of fate, when the celestial powers, the planets, stars, and constellations, order a dumalma for the vegetable race below, to refresh the herbs, the corn, and trees, and banquets from the clouds; then the big-bellied tuns above are rolled out of their hidden store-houses, and broached; the conduits of the upper region spout and run with plentiful showers and cataracts of nature's seminal juice, the radical all-cheering nectar of heaven; the greedy soil imbibes the sacred strong cascade; each joyful turf is frolicsome, and swallows down large bumpers of the eleemosynary wine; whilst the least dry and crumbling lump of the late fainting globe, has

drops and supernaculums enough to revel on, till parti-coloured Iris, the major-domo of these yearly festivals, perceiving the tender seeds and roots are well nigh fuddled with what at second-hand they have exhausted from the over-laden ground, makes her appearance in the clouds, inviting all the guests to a splendid collation of warm beams and rays with which the sun is minded to regale them.

A grateful, soft, and cheerful noise was heard throughout the room before ; the earth and air were in a merry humour ; well pleased with the debauch, they would have sat till morning at it, being loath to leave their liquor behind them, or change it for dry meat ; but at the sight of Iris every one changed countenance ; an universal murmur ran throughout the hall ; they were sorry thus to be baulked in the midst of their mirth ; till courtly zephyrs come with their soft compliments, and tell them it is necessary for their ease and health ; then are the tuns and bottles removed, with all the drunken tackle ; the table soon is spread, and covered with a rich course of glittering charges sent from Phoebus.

That sponging planet only lives by bantering and wheeling ; the illustrious figure he makes in the world is always borrowed ; he never wore a fashionable dress in his life, but what he took up by tally from the first source of lights, for which he is bound to pay so vast an interest, that he would necessarily become a bankrupt, did he not repair his broken fortune, by playing tricks upon the earth. Thus, whilst he mocks this sublunary world with his pretended treats, he makes it pay for all with costly exhalations ; he plunders the elements, picks the pockets of the earth, and robs the treasuries of the sea, nor can he forbear filching something from the air ; and when he has stolen enough, he sinks away in the dark, and flies to

the other side of the globe, there to commence new shams and cheats upon the antipodes; and all the while the stars are full as bad as he; for like a brave highwayman, that luminary frequents the public way of heaven by day; he robs in open sight of all the world, and leaves a generous viaticum wherever he borrows any thing; but the stars, those little bullies of the sky, are perfect night-pads, shop-lifts, and sharpers; they skulk about in the dark, through all the private alleys of the firmament, and commit a thousand murders, rapes, and other violences; some of their aspects are as venomous as the fatal eyes of basilisks; they carry divers kinds of mortal poisons in their looks, which they disperse at random in this lower world; they strew the earth with hemlocks, aconites, and other baneful weeds; they also scatter up and down the more contagious seeds of envy, avarice, and a thousand black infernal vices, which take root in human souls at our nativities, and growing up with us, in time bring forth the fatal fruits of death: The ugly race of dragons, serpents, crocodiles, and all the reptile generations, with every thing that is hideous, cruel, and destructive on the globe, derive their natures, qualities, forms, and dispositions, from some malignant stars or constellations, if astrologers say true; so do the scaly monsters of the vast abyss, and every bird of horrible figure flying in the air; they are all the brood, the emissaries, spies, and agents of the powers above, sent down on thievish errands, to prey on other animals more innocent than themselves.

There is an eternal clause in nature, whilst every thing is either on the hunt or flight. Thus heaven purloins from earth, and that from heaven again. When we are first conceived, our wandering souls are caught, as in a well-baited trap; and when we die, it is but the soul's escape from one snare to be soon trepanned into another.

Perhaps a human body may be our prison again, or we may be attracted by some more agreeable embryo; this magnetic star may draw us up to heaven, or the wide jaws of all-devouring Orcus may swallow us down into the hungry paunch of hell, which God avert.

Learned Hali, let not thou and I be too solicitous about these things, for all our timorous forecasts are in vain; but considering the secret magnetisms dispersed throughout the universe, and that every thing attracts its like, let us take care to qualify ourselves with celestial habits and dispositions, and then we cannot fail of being drawn up to paradise.

Paris, 2d of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1671.

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### XIII.—*To the MURTI.*

**I**N obedience to thy commands, I shall now proceed in relating the most memorable transactions of former ages, during the four great monarchies, observing thy instructions, not to be prolix, or over-curious in tracing down the particular successions of kings and princes, but rather to relate the actions of famous men, the wise sayings of the ancients, with such other remarks as may be at once delightful and instructive.

It will be no breach of this rule to begin where I left off in my former letter, with the death of Darius, and succession of Xerxes, his younger son, there being something of nicety in the plea between him and his elder brother Artabazanes for the crown; for this laid claim to it on the account of his primogeniture, but in regard he was born before Darius was made king, the succession was determined in favour of Xerxes, who had a double advantage, in being begot by a crowned king, and born

of Astosh, the daughter of Cyrus, who first established this monarchy.

As soon as Xerxes was settled in the throne, he led an army into Egypt, and suppressed the insurrections in that country; then he fitted out a fleet of 4200 ships, on board of which were above five hundred thousand men; he had a land army also consisting of two millions and five hundred thousand soldiers, of several nations. With this vast multitude he marched against the Grecians; and to facilitate the voyage of his fleet, he caused one part of his army to dig a passage through mount Athos, whereby the sea was let in, and the ships might sail two abreast; whilst another part of the soldiers were employed in building a bridge of boats over the Hellespont. No sooner was this done, but there arose a vehement tempest, which so discomposed those narrow seas, that between the winds and waves, the boats which made this bridge were all dispersed, broken, and cast away.

This so incensed Xerxes, that he commanded the sea to be scourged with whips, and a chain to be thrown into it, as a mark of its future subjection; he also beheaded those who built the bridge, and caused others to make a new one.

Here one of Xerxes's eunuchs, and a particular favourite of the king, sent for a Grecian of the isle of Chios, who had formerly deprived him of the evidences of his virility; and the old man coming with his sons to wait on this great courtier, the eunuch caused him first to castrate his own sons, and afterwards forced them to do the same by their father, in revenge of his own loss and disgrace.

From hence Xerxes marching with his army by the place where once stood the famous town of Troy, went in pilgrimage to the tomb of King Priamus, where he

sacrificed ten hecatombs of oxen to the ghosts of the ancient heroes, and to the divinity of the river Scamander, which his soldiers drank dry, and yet half of them had not quenched their thirst.

After this, he came to the Hellespont, where taking a survey of all his land and sea forces, which covered the Hellespont and all the neighbouring shores, and contemplating the shortness of man's life, and that of so innumerable a multitude not one should be alive at an hundred years end, he wept bitterly.

Then having sacrificed to the sun, for the good success of his expedition, he caused all his army to pass over the Hellespont by his bridge of boats; after which, they drank their way through another river, which had not water enough to satisfy half his men and cattle; for his army increased all the way, by the accession of soldiers out of every nation through which he passed. Yet Leonidas, King of Sparta, with a small body of 4000 Lacedemonians, gave battle to the whole army of Xerxes; and in a sea-fight at Salamis, the Persians lost 500 ships, with a considerable part of their army, which, with other disasters, or sickness, famine, &c. so terrified this great monarch, that he posted back again as fast as he could, by the way of the Hellespont, which he crossed in a poor fisher-boat all alone, leaving Mardonius to pursue the wars in Greece; but an ill fate attended their arms; for at Platea the Grecians set upon them under Pausanias their general, and routed the whole army, killing above two hundred thousand of them upon the spot, and burning their camp and navy.

Xerxes, hearing these ill tidings, fled towards his own country, and by the way set fire to the temples of the gods at Babylon and other parts of Asia, sparing none.

but that magnificent fane at Ephesus, which was renowned throughout the whole world.

About this time died Pagapates, the faithful eunuch of Darius, who had passed seven whole years mourning at the tomb of his master.

I must not omit the treachery of Pausanias the Lacedemonian general, who held a private correspondence with Xerxes; and having been twice accused of treason, and as often acquitted, was the third time discovered by a boy, whom he kept as his minion, and by the sentence of the ephori was starved to death.

Thou hast forbidden me to augment the bulk of these historical letters, with glosses, or remarks of my own, or else it were a proper occasion to put thy holiness in mind, how great a value ought to be set on a faithful man; and let nature itself plead my excuse for intrenching on thy orders, whilst I vindicate myself from the calumnies of the envious, and beg of thee to rest assured, that no man on earth can be truer to his trust than the Arabian slave Mahmut.

But to return to Xerxes: He was unfaithfully dealt with by the captain of his guard, who by the assistance of Spamtres, the king's chamberlain, and seven other conspirators, killed him in his bed, with his eldest son Darius, and crowned Artaxerxes in his stead.

To him fled Themistocles the Athenian, who was suspected a partner in the treason of Pausanias: The king received him into his favour, and made him governor of a province, adding the gift of five great cities, to furnish him with money for the expences of his table and wardrobe; and this the king did, not as a reward or encouragement of treason, (from which he knew Themistocles was free, being falsely accused by the Athenians) but he heaped those honours on him, as a debt to the merits



of that once illustrious enemy, now become a friend, and seeking shelter in the Persian kingdom from the barbarous ingratitude of his own countrymen, who, for all his eminent services to Greece, could think of no better acknowledgment than to put to death as a traitor the bravest and wisest captain of that age.

Not long after this, the Persians lost two hundred ships in a sea-fight with the Grecians, and were routed at land by a stratagem of Cimon, the Grecian general, who, after the naval victory, put his men on board the Persian vessels which he had taken, and apparelling them in the garments of the Persian captives, landed them near the enemy's camp in Pamphylia, who taking them for friends, suffered them to enter their trenches without jealousy, and so were all slaughtered, except a few, who escaped by the swiftness of their horses.

About this time, Pericles was made Prince of Athens, of whom I made mention in my former letters; and Themistocles being made general of the Persian army, and sent against the Grecians, rather than fight against his country, or betray the cause of his new master, became a voluntary victim to his own integrity and honour; for, sacrificing a bull in his march, he drank off a bowl of the blood, and fell down dead at the foot of the altar.

The next war the Persians were engaged in was with Egypt, where, in a battle near Memphis, they lost an hundred thousand men; but sending fresh recruits, they dried up the river Nile, where the Athenian fleet, confederate with the Egyptians, lay at anchor, which so amazed the Egyptians, that they made their peace with them; and the Athenians set their own ships on fire, in number 200, and returned home with disgrace, when they had been six years in Egypt; and after this, a peace was concluded between the Persians and those of Greece; and in

the fifth year of the 8th olympiad, which soon followed, there was an universal peace throughout the world, which continued till the first year of the 87th olympiad, at which time began the Peloponnesian war.

In the 4th year of the 88th olympiad Artaxerxes died, and his son Xerxes was invested with the crown ; but at a year's end, being overcome with wine, and falling asleep in a place where no guard was kept, his brother Secundianus, with the help of an eunuch, murdered him, and took the government on himself ; he also was soon after dispatched by his brother Darius.

I over-run whole olympiads, without mentioning any thing save the transactions which made most noise in those times ; but I am unwilling to slip the reign of any king, though I speak but two words of it, that so thou mayest have a perfect idea of their succession.

During the whole series of Darius's reign, history mentions nothing remarkable, but is taken up in relating the little quarrels and reconciliations of several provinces in Greece, some private treaties between the Persian governors of Lesser Asia, and those of Peloponnesus, and the overtures of peace between the Lacedemonians and the Persians, the end of the Peloponnesian war, with such other passages as would be too tedious for a letter.

I will only rehearse a memorable saying of Darius, on his death-bed, to his eldest son Artaxerxes, who was to succeed him in the throne : The prince being assured by the royal physicians that his father's end drew near, thus addressed Darius : " My father, since it is the will of the gods to take you from earth into their own blessed society, and that you have been pleased, with the consent of the nobles, to declare me your successor in the kingdom, tell me, I beseech you, by what methods of policy you have governed this empire these nineteen years, that so I

may follow your example." To whom the king replied, "My son, be assured, that if my reign has been blessed with greater success and peace than those of my predecessors, it is because in all things I have honoured the immortal gods, and done justice to every man."

As soon as Artaxerxes was possessed of the crown, he sent for his brother Cyrus, and put him in manacles of gold, with design to make him privately away; but at the intercession of his mother, he released him again, and restored him to his government of Lydia.

About this time, Plato the philosopher being very young, gave an early specimen of a ripe wit, in comforting Antimachus the poet, who lost the garland in a contest with Niceratus, at the Lyfandrian feast; for when he beheld the poet extremely vexed at the ignorance and partiality of Lyfander, who knew not how to distinguish between his lofty measures and the flat rhimes of his antagonist, Plato bid him be of good courage; "For (said he) his ignorance no more diminishes thy knowledge, than a blind man's mistaking thee for another would deprive thee of thy sight."

When Cyrus was returned to his government he plotted to depose his brother; and to win Lyfander to his party, he presented him with a ship built all of gold and ivory. Alcibiades, the famous Athenian captain, perceiving this, designed to give Artaxerxes notice of his brother's treason, but by the way he was murdered himself by some soldiers hired for that purpose by Lyfander, who yet durst not set upon him in the day time, when he was armed in his own defence, but in the night set his house on fire, and as he was escaping through the flames and smoke, they, lying in ambush, shot him dead with arrows.

However, Artaxerxes quickly became sensible of his brother's designs, and raising an army of nine hundred

thousand men, gave him battle not far from Babylon; in the fight he was wounded by Cyrus; but after a hot dispute, Cyrus was killed, and Artaxerxes got the victory.

Parisatis, the mother of Cyrus, to revenge the death of her son, caused those that wounded him to be killed with lingering torments; and inviting Queen Statira, the wife of Artaxerxes, to a feast, she divided the bird rhindaces afunder with a knife poisoned on one side, and gave the venomed part to Statira, eating the other herself; upon which the queen died in horrible anguish and torture.

The famous deeds of many heroes are also recorded, during the reign of this Artaxerxes; as of Agesilaus King of the Spartans; Iphicrates, Pharnabazus, Tissaphernes, and Tiribazus, Persians, with Conon the Athenian; but fearing to intrench on thy patience, I content myself with only mentioning their names, and so finish my letter with the conclusion of Artaxerxes's life, who died of grief for the death of his son Arfames, whom Ochus his brother had caused to be murdered out of envy and jealousy, because his father doated on him.

If I have not answered thy expectation in this letter, blame not me, but the historians from whom I have collected these passages, or accuse the men of that age that they did not perform greater actions. However, in the next thou shalt hear of the birth and life of a great prophet, even Alexander, the conqueror of all Asia. In the mean time, I plunge myself in the ideas of the dust thou treadest on, and shrinking into an abstract of humility, I bid thee adieu.

Paris, 2d of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1671.

## B O O K IV.

LETTER I.—To PESTELI HALI, *his brother, Master of the Customs, and Superintendant of the Arsenal at Constantinople.*

I KNOW not well whether it is my part to be sorry or glad when I hear thy son is wild and prodigal ; that he is amorous, and very much addicted to frolic with women, wine, and music ; that he frequents the baths and playhouses, on purpose to make some interest for his love, that he may sometimes get a sight of beautiful ladies, and have the pleasure of being admitted into their company ; that he haunts the society of foreign merchants, the houses of Christian ambassadors, and insinuates himself into the acquaintance and familiarity of all travellers who make any figure in the imperial city.

I protest it seems difficult in my opinion to determine whether thou thyself hast reason to be grieved at all this, or not rather to rejoice, as at a presage of his future good fortune, since it is a manifest argument of the greatness of his soul ; and let that alone to work out its own way to happiness. Never check a generous spirit, for such are full of the Divinity ; they are the eagles, the lions, the kings and princes of the earth ; their veins flow with sacred blood ; their nerves strut with the milk of paradise ; a thousand excellencies possess their hearts, and ten thousand perfections take root in their brains ; whatever of precious is scattered up and down in the elements meets in their accomplished nature, as in an epitome or rich compendium of the brightest essences, an extract of all that is valuable, good, and lovely in the universe.

Be not discouraged to see thy son amorous of women ; it is a sign of a good nature ; and he is looked upon as a monster, or degenerate person, who feels no warmth or passions for that lovely sex. Women are sent into the world on purpose to blow up those gentle flames within our breasts which sublimate our grosser mould, and make us more refined ; love is a sacred frenzy of the soul, a divine madness, elevating a man up to the pitch of a satane, and rendering him the care of the benigner demons ; he is every where safe, having the favour of gods and men, as the Roman poet expresses it :

*Quisquis amore tenetur, eat tutusque facerque.*

And had it not been for thy own experience of this noble passion, thou hadst not had a son to complain of.

Perhaps it makes him expensive and costly in his manner of living ; he would no doubt appear gay and polite in the eyes of his mistresses ; he would be generous and magnificent in his entertainments, liberal to his friends and acquaintance, charitable to all persons in distress ; and canst thou really blame him for putting in practice so many amiable virtues ? Is not this better than to see him of a sneaking sordid temper, addicted to avarice and other ignoble vices ? Remember thy own genius when thou wert young ; what a passionate delight thou tookest in travelling ; yet this could not be maintained without great charges : Consider therefore that it is thy own blood running in the veins of thy son, which prompts him to a noble way of living ; and do not thou imitate those fathers who, by their severity, teach their children to degenerate, instead of making them better or more reformed ; they frighten them from the paths of innate virtue for the lucre of their gold, and take abundance of pains to instruct them in the methods of covetousness, as

if that alone were the zenith of wisdom and virtue, whereas it is in truth the very sink and seminary of all vice.

I will relate to thee a story which I have heard in Paris, which has something in it very singular and remarkable, concerning the affection and care of a father toward his extravagant and prodigal son : This old gentleman had a fair feat, about ten leagues from this city, which had belonged to his family for the space of five hundred years ; his yearly revenue was very considerable, and having only one son, he gave him the liberty of managing half his estate when he came to the age of one-and-twenty years.

This young spark being of a high spirit, was so far from harbouring any thoughts of frugality, that he could hardly brook the necessity of living within the compass of his allowance ; he addicted himself to gaming, drinking, and other lewd courses, which in a short time consumed his means, and reduced him to great straits.

About the same time his father died, and left him the remainder of his estate, giving him all the instructions that are usual in such cases ; and among the rest of his sage counsels, he charged him, if it should be his misfortune to become a bankrupt again, so as to be forced to sell his estate, that he would at least not part with that house, which had been so long in the possession of their family ; especially he conjured him to reserve one particular chamber for himself as long as he lived, which was the same where he then lay a-dying ; “ for this (said he) will be a sanctuary for you when you have no other place of refuge in the world.”

After the old man's decease, his son fell to his former course of life ; and, to make short of it, in a few years

spent all his patrimony, even that very house itself, which he was forced to sell at last for an under-price, to supply his present necessities. However, he obeyed his father's last injunction, and in the sale of the house made articles for the perpetual claim and use of that chamber to himself.

It was not long before he had consumed the money which he had received for the house, so that now his last support was gone; he tried to borrow of some of his friends and acquaintance, and in charity they supplied him at first with small sums; but when he often pressed them, they grew weary of him, and denied to part with any more.

The disconsolate gentleman, overwhelmed with grief and melancholy, returns to his chamber, hoping to find some ease in that private recess, where he might at least have the privilege of venting his sorrow in sighs and tears.

He passed away some time in this dejected condition, when at length he cast his eyes on an old trunk which stood in a corner of the chamber, and which he had scarce ever regarded before; an odd curiosity prompted him to rise and look into this trunk, perhaps not so much in hopes of finding any relief there, as to divert himself and pass away the tedious minutes; and yet it is natural for people in great calamities and misfortunes to flatter themselves with the imagination of unexpected reliefs, and to catch at every the least glimpse or shadow that seems to preface any good. Be it how it will, he fell to rising the trunk, but found nothing save a parcel of old rags and papers, with other remnants and fragments of silk, linen, and velvet, the relics and spoils of his father's wardrobe. This was no booty for him; however, he ceased not his scrutiny till he had quite emptied the trunk,



when, to his no small astonishment, he found these words on the bottom : " Ah prodigal ! hast thou spent all, and sold thy house ? Now go and hang thyself ; there is a rope ready provided for thee in the beam of the chamber."

The young gentleman looking to the ceiling, and seeing a halter hang there, being fastened to an iron ring, was struck with such a damp, that concluding it was the will of fate that he should fulfil the words he found on the bottom of the trunk, he immediately took a chair or stool, and placing it just under the rope, got up and raised himself upon it, that so he might the better reach the designed instrument of his death.

He stood not long musing, for life appeared now insupportable to him ; wherefore, putting the halter about his neck, in the height of despair he kicked the stool away, when behold, instead of hanging there, he fell to the ground, the weighty swing of his body having pulled out a piece of square timber from the beam, being that part to which the ring was fastened. Immediately he was like to be overwhelmed and buried alive in a great heap of gold, which came showering down upon him out of the hollow place, which his father had contrived on purpose in the beam, to put this kind sacrifice on his son, now sufficiently mortified by so many sorrows.

In a word, this made so deep an impression on him, that he grew reformed, buying all his estate back again with part of the money, and, employing the rest in merchandising, grew to be a richer man than his father or any of his progenitors.

Dear Pesteli, thy son is generous and witty : It is thy part to reclaim him by methods agreeable to his nature ; for ruggedness and austerity will make him but the worse.

Paris, 5th of the 11th Moon, of the Year 1671.

II.—*To CODORAFRAD CHEIK, a Man of the Law.*

**H**ERE has happened an accident of late, which testifies the zeal of the French for their religion, as well as it discovers the rash and unwarrantable fury of a bigotted desperado : This person was one of that sect they call huguenots, of whom there are great multitudes in France ; and they are diametrically opposite to those of the Roman faith in their principles, and the manner of worshipping God, yet are tolerated by the state, to prevent the inconveniencies of a civil war, and the effusion of human blood ; the king-choosing rather by clemency to win them to his party, than by a severe execution of the laws in force against them, to compel their consciences in matters relating to God.

Yet many men are of opinion that this royal condescension will not have its desired effect upon a stubborn and ungrateful sort of people, who, instead of being obliged to fidelity and obedience by such indulgent favours, are apt to interpret them as arguments of the king's impotence and disability to punish those that resist his authority, and to harden themselves the more in their factious insolence, as it will appear by what I am going to relate of a certain religious furioso, a huguenot by profession : This fellow coming one day into the great temple in Paris which they call Notre Dame, makes up directly toward the priest who was celebrating mass, and waiting a convenient season to execute his purpose, just as the priest was elevating that which they esteem the sacramental body of Jesus the Messias above his head, according to custom, that it might be adored by all the congregation, this ruffian stepped to him, and striking the wafer out of his hand, trampled it under foot, and then assassinated the priest with his dagger.

The whole assembly were astonished at such an unex-

amplified attempt ; they stood still like statues for a while, and suffered the villain to pass through the throng, till he came to the very gate of the temple, when beginning to rouse out of their stupefaction, some ran after him, and so he was seized, and carried before the next cadi or judge of criminal causes, who condemned him to have his right hand first cut off before the gate of the same temple where he had been guilty of this assassin and profanation, and his body presently afterwards to be burnt alive, which was accordingly executed.

But not thinking this a sufficient expiation of the dishonour done to God, the Archbishop of Paris commanded prayers to be made, which they call the orisons of forty hours ; he appointed also a solemn procession of all the clergy to the Temple of Notre Dame, to cleanse it from the defilement which, according to their belief, it had contracted by this impious action. The sovereign companies of the city likewise attended these ceremonies, in their robes of honour, to testify their devotion.

Thou wilt not conclude me an infidel, or say that I undertake the patronage of the Roman religion, if I condemn this fellow as a martyr to his own presumption and arrogance ; the Romans and huguenots are all alike to me, so long as they are equally enemies to the messenger of God ; but it is not decent or wise, neither good manners nor policy, to affront the established religion of the country where a man lives ; it was sufficient that this ruffian and all his brethren had the liberty of serving God after their own way ; it was an unpardonable immorality to disturb the lawful priests of the nation, especially in so barbarous a manner, in the very height of their mysteries, the midst of their daily sacrifice, at the altar of their God, where they profess to immolate, after a tran-

scendent manner, no less than the body and blood of the Messias.

Doubtless all nations are zealous for their religion, and we mussulmans should not scruple to put to death a headstrong giasre, who would presume but to pollute our sacred mosques by his uncircumcised presence, much less should we spare him if he attempted to offer any violence to a true believer as he was adoring the Eternal Unity after the way observed by our fathers, and commanded by the prophet. And though these Nazarenes are worshippers of images and pictures, though they adore that which to all outward appearance is but a piece of bread, yet the precept of Moses ought to be regarded, which says, "Ye shall not blaspheme the gods of the nations whither ye go to dwell."

Venerable successor of Moses and the prophets, vouchsafe to pray for Mahmut, that whilst he dwells among these infidels, he may neither make shipwreck of his faith, by embracing their vanities, nor yet forfeit his discretion by any rude, unseemly, or violent carriage against them.

Paris, 23d of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1671.

### III.—To DIGNET OGLÔU.

THERE are a sort of men among the Nazarene ecclesiastics whom they call casuists; these are profoundly versed in the learning of the schools, which (if thou rememberest) honest Father Antonio, the old Sicilian priest, our friend, used to term the science of husks; a dry chaffy sort of knowledge, consisting only of empty vapid notions, windy ideas, distinctions made in sand, which may be effaced, altered, or formed at pleasure. The very

contemplation of these metaphysical trifles is enough to put one in a fever, so subtle is the poison they contain ; a spiritual venom, which darts like lightning through one's thoughts, and soon ferments the soul, boiling our reason up to scum, and froth itself away in divine jargon and religious nonsense.

These men will split a hair in divinity, to make a scruple, or to disannul it ; they raise a dust in the eyes of those that give heed to them, and play fast and loose with human reason as it serves a turn ; they will make a hog of a cushion, and turn an elephant into a coffee-dish, with their enchanting hæcceities, identities, quatenuses, and the rest of their learned legerdemain, the perfect hocus pocus of the Sorbonne, by which they juggle men out of their senses, and frame chimeras far more monstrous than those in the fictions of Ovid, or the more early and mysterious poems of Musæus, Orpheus, and Hesiod ; they teach men to stumble at a feather in the way of a religious life, yet not to boggle at a millstone or a mountain, where interest calls for resolution and speed ; they start more difficulties than themselves can answer, in the cases of the poor ; but where plenty of gold appears, every thing is made easy and plain ; mere higglers in religion, quacks and empirics in matters of conscience ; murdering a thousand distempered souls for one they cure ; pretending to be guides to paradise, they lead men through uncouth paths and intricate windings, till they are lost in labyrinths of error, bordering on the confines of hell, and then they leave them to themselves, where, if they make one false step, they go out of their bounds, trespass on the devil's frontiers, and so are either in danger of a precipice, or at least of being taken captives by the outlying scouts of the infernal kingdom, from whom it is difficult to escape.

There were such as these also among the Jews and Gentiles of old, and so there are at this day, in all religions, men who are severe in punctilios, and neglect the more important precepts of the law; nor can the muslims themselves be free from this embarrassment of the faith and truth brought down from heaven.

If thou observest the grave and supercilious looks of our imaums, mollahs, cadis, &c. thou wilt take them for the justest men, the holiest saints on earth; mark but their discourse, it is an abridgment of the Alcoran; they are seen each morning at the first hour of public prayer, walking before the mosques, or sitting in the royal cemeteries under some melancholy cypress, reading the book of Assonah, or some other spiritual treatise; with eyes cast up to heaven, or humbly fixed upon the ground; and mimic postures of their hands, they act devotion to the life, yet in their hearts perhaps are studying how to circumvent their neighbours.

Go to these persons for instruction in any doubtful case, they will hamper thee with far-fetched terms and crabbed problems, with formal aspects, and tedious circumlocutions; stroaking their beards, and sighing from deceitful breasts, they will industriously amuse thy soul with dark enigmas, and trepan thy sense in snares of insignificant and unintelligible words, striving to make thee believe they are the picklocks of the eternal cabinet, if not the privy counsellors of heaven; whereas the way of piety is plain, and circumscribed with certain noted boundaries; it is hard indeed for a bewildered traveller to find the narrow gate and first avenue of this sacred path, amongst so many gorgeous glittering portals ever standing open, and inviting men into the spacious fields of vice; but when he has once entered the obscurer pass, he has nothing else to do but go directly on, without

turning to the right hand or the left, only regarding the fixed land-marks of eternal truth, invariable reason, and sound morality. To speak plainly, a man's duty is comprehended in a few easy rules, and he that goes to render them difficult by knotty thorny glosses, throws stumbling-blocks before the feet of true believers, and interrupts their pilgrimage to heaven.

My friend, if any pious scruples trouble thee or me, let us henceforth be our own casuists, and not by blind implicit faith enslave our souls to men perhaps more ignorant than ourselves. The law is plain and positive in necessary matters; what need we seek to entangle ourselves with more?

If we perform our orisons at the appointed hours, what matter is it whether we observe the six traditional postures or no, we that are illuminated? I only speak of such; as for the phlegmatic dull multitude, it is fit they should be curbed with discipline, and made to observe the nice punctilios of obedience. What signifies the old versatile turn of the head from one side to the other, as if we thought to catch the prophet peeping over our shoulders? or where is the sense of the profounder mystery of poring on our fingers with extended palms, as if we were at school and learning our alphabet, or imitated the clownish rustics of Armenia, who, as they work in the fields and vineyards, will make a dial of their hands, a gaomon of a straw, and lose an hour in stedfast gazing on their dirty fists, to know what time of day it is? Then the mysterious resting of our hands upon our knees, with other formal ceremonies, what are they all but an external discipline, confirmed by ancient custom, and observed for order's sake? This need not trouble thee or me whenever we have occasion to retrench such indifferent niceties.

Nay, to go farther, if we should neglect the stated

periods of solemn adoration, compelled thereto by sickness, travelling, or any other necessity, be not disconsolate, as if thou hadst been guilty of a mortal sin: Some supererogating work of charity will cancel ten such faults as that, or at least thou mayest look boldly in the face of God, when, at another season, on thy knees, thou makest ample compensation, or by sacred abstinence and fasting disperdest all the mists and clouds of guilt that sat so heavy on thy soul. The times are all alike to him who is eternal; there is no distinction of day or night with that Immortal Essence who made the sun and stars, and is himself the unchangeable source of light.

So, if we should address ourselves to Heaven without the usual forms of prayer, or any words at all, we have no reason to be sad, as if our orisons were ineffectual and unheard. In the eternal high recess, our silent vows and softest whispers of the soul echo as loud as the most bold and noisy clamour of the tongue. There is a rank of spirits among the rest above, on purpose made to waft the secret thoughts of mortal men to heaven. We cannot fail of audience there, whenever we send the least ejaculation up with firm credentials from the heart.

In a word, believe, my Dignet, that the Supreme Intelligent and Wise chiefly regards the intention and fervour of our minds, the habitual bent of our souls, with the innocent and pious actions of our lives; he is not to be moved (unless to indignation) by the vain tautologies of our verbal orisons, the nauseating crambo of devoutest words, common to hypocrites and persons of sincerity, to the most incorrigible sinners and the greatest saints; the humble silence of a heart resigned to destiny is a pacific sacrifice, atoning for the greatest sins, attracting choicest favours, smiles, and benedictions from the Eternal. This



is the discipline of sacred love, the rule of perfect life, the secret chart of the elect, whereby they steer their course to paradise.

Which of the prophets was a formal beadsmán, to number out his orisons at fingers end; and offer up to God a short and vain retail of words, in recompense of infinite bounties past, and in hopes of more to come?

When Mahomet was pursued by cruel infidels, and forced to make the wilderness his sanctuary, and hide himself within the hollow of an aged oak, he did not seek to amuse the Eternal with studied forms of speech, and human eloquence, or tire the immortal ears with a religious long harangue, as if he thought to ensnare the general mercy of the Holy One in trains of artificial and elaborate language, or catch his more particular indulgence in a trap of subtle rhetoric. The harmless saint, with heart and face composed with self-denying thoughts and looks, stood like a statue in the blessed asylum, whilst gentle rivulets of compassionate tears trickled down his cheeks; his soul was pierced with sacred pity to his enemies; he sighed and wished, in short, whatever blameless piety could suggest for him and them; angels immediately carried the prophetic vows to heaven; his silent passionate prayer was heard; the cruel persecutors, blinded with impious fury, rushed into the desert; they spread themselves abroad, and rode at large; one traitor spurred his horse through thickest webs of low-entangled thorns and underwoods, greedy of the royal and majestic prey, whilst others took the open paths, hoping to overtake the prophet on the flight; they seemed to swim or fly rather than ride, such was the swiftness of their course; fierce was the cry, re-echoed from the hollows of the rocks and valleys, "Mecca for the head of Mahomet!" Some stumbled at the out-creeping roots of

trees, and broke a leg or an arm by a precipitate fall from off their beasts, whilst others had their eyes struck blind by interfering twigs; one had his turban rudely brushed off, and scalp severely shaved, by broken stumps of boughs, and rows of knotty branches, placed and bent down by fate, on purpose to avenge the apostle's cause on such a miscreant as this; another could not curb his horse from jumping down into a deep quarry, digged in the midst of the wood, where the proud heretic dashed his skull and brains upon the marble pavement at the bottom. So sensible and vindictive are inanimate creatures, when a good man, a saint, a friend of God, is wronged; the very stocks and stones, and all the elements, are touched with sacred sympathies at such a time; the frame of nature feels strange tender passions, fits, and qualms of amorous regard; and God himself, if I may so express myself, is roused as from a trance, and snatching up the weapons of his power and wrath, runs like a champion to defend the cause of injured innocence.

But I forget that I am writing a letter, and therefore ought to be brief; besides, what I have said is sufficient to convince thee that I have an idea of religion far different from that which the casuists, whether mussulmans or Christians, would imprint in men's minds.

If thou canst not think as I do, I condemn thee not; use thy native freedom, but remember, that though men's reasons and opinions vary as do their faces, yet truth is homogeneous, uniform, and ever of the same complexion, in all ages and nations.

Paris, 1st of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1672.

IV.—*To the KAIMACHAM.*

**T**HE King of France has lately made a league with the King of England; whereupon the people, by way of proverb, say, that Mars and Jupiter are now in conjunction, reflecting thereby on the different tempers of these two princes; the one debonair and jovial, excessively addicted to women and wine, yet not forgetting or declining martial affairs, when his honour or interest invites him to take up arms; the other seeming wholly taken up with the thoughts of conquest, and enlarging his dominions, yet sparing some time for the enjoyment of himself, and prosecution of his amours.

However, both of them now have proclaimed open war against the Hollanders by sea and land. The King of Sweden, who was before an ally of the Dutch, has of late declared himself a neuter; and the Bishop of Munster, who is one of the electors of the German empire, is engaged in the French interest.

Thus are some of the princes and states in Europe divided already, and God knows how far the breach may extend in time.

It is not altogether unworthy of remark, what different factions there were of late amongst the Hollanders themselves, though a republic, pretending to greater and faster union of interests than what can be found in any monarchy; yet this commonwealth was rent into three several parties, whereof one was headed by the Prince of Orange, the other by John de Wit, and the third was composed of the commons, without any chief of note.

I will not trouble thee with a character of the Prince of Orange, he is already known by fame at the Sublime Porte; as to John de Wit, I can give no other account at present, but that he was a person whom fortune had

raised to such an eminence in the commonwealth, as made him the Prince of Orange's rival, and competitor for the supremacy; therefore he sought to exclude him from all employments and offices of trust, that he might establish himself in his place.

The third party, whom we may call republicans, were of opinion, that it was not for the honour of the commonwealth to acknowledge any head, judging that the establishment or exclusion, the rise or fall of the prince, or De Wit, ought to be a thing indifferent to the states, in regard the commonwealth appeared in their sight sufficient to flourish, under the protection of her own arms and riches, without having any need of either the Prince of Orange's assistance or De Wit's.

However, notwithstanding these animosities of the Hollanders among themselves, as soon as they found themselves engaged in a war with two such potent monarchs, they all unanimously chose the Prince of Orange as general of their army; remembering the famous actions of his fathers, the Princes of the House of Nassau, by whose valour and conduct they had gained and conserved their liberties; on the other side, De Wit, having rendered himself odious to the vulgar, was by them torn in pieces, such a destiny often happening to those who aspire to raise themselves by unlawful methods, and who are ambitious to be the ringleaders of a faction.

The French call the Prince of Orange a general without an army, in regard the Hollanders being as yet only upon the defensive, and their towns wanting strong garisons, their soldiers are all disposed of this way, so that there is little or no appearance of a field army.

This is certain, the King of France is the most gallant prince in Europe; he passes from divertisements to the toils of war, and from the campaign returns to his plea-

fores again. Thus it is difficult to distinguish between his labours and recreations, his pleasures and his business; they seem to be so near of kin, that he takes equal pleasure in both.

It was but a little before the first appearances of this war, that he and his queen were revelling in the gardens of Chantilly, where a royal entertainment was prepared for them by night; the court attended them thither, and there the Roman luxury was seen in royal miniature. As soon as the gates were opened, there appeared an artificial day, so light was the place made with flambeaux and lamps, which being well placed among the trees, with other refined illuminations, adorned with chaplets of flowers, which presented the eye with a pleasing medley of colours, interspersed with oranges, citrons, and other agreeable fruits, transported the company with exquisite delights; all together pretty well resembled a forest in a chamber, for the walls not being far from the place where the king sat, were hung with arras, with a multitude of lights burning near the hangings, and there was a spring of water in the middle of the garden, raising itself after a wonderful manner into the form of a high pyramid, and falling again into three basins of marble successively, from one to the other, made a pleasant spectacle to the courtiers.

Then a most magnificent collation was served up, with vocal and instrumental music, so soft and fine, with a sudden dew cooling the air, which had a smell like sweet briars, as rendered the place a perfect paradise; after which followed the king's supper, far surpassing the other banquet, in all manner of delicacy and politeness, as well as the stupendous abundance of dishes. When supper was ended, they were entertained with a show of something admirable and new in fire-works; but though

it be so to them, I will not trouble thee with a description of it, since thou hast seen far finer and more costly at Constantinople, or wherever the great sultan kept his residence at the time of a dunalma.

After this, the king went to see the new fortifications of Dunkirk, which he had ordered not long before; and in a little time followed this declaration of war against Holland.

So things go in a circle from war to peace, from peace to war again. However, thou wilt the better know by what I have said, how to comport thyself, in case of any difference between the English, French, and Hollanders at the Sublime Porte. God inspire thee with climacterical wisdom, to adjust all difficulties in their stated periods.

Paris, 26th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1672.

V.—*To CARA HALI, Physician to the Grand Signior.*

THOU hast borne with a thousand impertinencies in my letters, and I know not whether what I am now going to write will deserve a better character; however, I feel a spirit within me, checking my stupid mind, in that I was not before sensible of my error, but must make so late a recantation. It is impossible for me to reflect on the vain and trifling subjects I have all along entertained thee with, and not to blush at so grand an oversight, since I then seemed not so much as to regard thy knowledge and practice in medicines, which has exalted thee to the honour of being placed in the front of those who take care of the Grand Signior's health; much less did I present thee with matters suitable to thy more interior know-

ledge, and that hidden wisdom, which deservedly ranks thee among the most perfect and accomplished mortals.

In ancient times, theology and physic were counted sciences of such a near relation and mutual dependance, that one could not subsist without the other. By physic they meant the general science of nature, otherwise termed magic, which comprehended under it the knowledge of the heavens, the elements, and every being within their vast circumference; the motions of sun, moon, and stars, their various aspects, influences, and dominions in this lower world; the nature of the winds and meteors, with their effects; the virtues of all plants, and living creatures; as also of insensible things, the metals, minerals, and other substances found both on the surface of the earth, within its concave, and in the sea.

Such as those of old were Apollonius Tyanæus, with the magi of Persia and Chaldea, such as Hierarchus among the bramins, Tespion the gymnosophist, Budda the Babylonian, Numa Pompilius at Rome, Zamolxides of Thrace, Abbaris the hyperborean, Hermes Trimegistus of Egypt, Zoroaster the son of Oromases King of Bactria, Evantes an Arabian king, Zacharias a Babylonian, Joseph a Hebrew; with many others of different nations; as Zenotenus, Kirannides, Almadal, Thetel, Alchind, Abel, Ptolemy, Geber, Zabel, Nazabarub, Tebiti, Aerith, Salomon, Astrophon, Hipparchus, Alcmeon, &c; and of later date, Albereus, surnamed the Great, Arnoldus de Villa Nova, Cardan, Raymund Lullius, with a few more not worth the naming.

These contemplated the secret force and virtue of celestial and sublunary things, the hidden sympathy between them and the mysterious powers of nature; then having by a curious and painful scrutiny traced out the true genealogies of things, cast their nativities, and discovered

all their kindred, allies, friends, and enemies, knew, by applying in due season actives to proper passives, how to produce effects appearing stupendous prodigies to the vulgar, and no less than miracles; whereas, all this is but a pure result of nature, helped by human art; so watches, dials, clocks, and mirrors, appeared at first to the ignorant world the effects of magic; especially, the simple natives of America, showed little more wit than apes or cats, which look behind the glass, to find the active figure of themselves that they saw in it.

And now I am got amongst those poor barbarians, I cannot forget a passage of a poor Peruvian slave, who being sent by his Spanish master with a basket of choice fruit, and a letter to his friend, the silly ignoramus being faint by reason of the excessive heat, his journey being also tedious, from the town of Lima to a village near the mountains of Potosi, eat up the fruit by the way, to allay his hungry thirst; however, not having so good a stomach to the letter, he delivered it safe to the person to whom it was addressed, never once dreaming that an insensible piece of paper could tell tales; but that discovering his crime, when he came home his master ordered him to the bastinado, to make him sensible of it; then he was sent again on the same errand with oranges and a letter, and meeting with the same temptation, he knew not what to do; at last, he hid the letter under a heap of sand, wisely concluding, that if it saw him not, it could never betray his fact; however, to secure it from all means of peeping, he spread his mantle over the place, and then fell roundly to his banquet, thinking he should now have no accuser; in fine, he eat up all the oranges, and was worse banged for his pains than the time before.

Generous Hali, thou seest I am fallen into the same error for which I made apology at the beginning of this



letter, but thou canst easily forgive such crimes as these; suffer me only to relapse thus far, that I may mention the mathematical magicians, such as Archytas, who made a wooden pigeon to fly; and Albert the Great, who taught a brazen head to speak; not forgetting him, unknown by name, who gave to the statues of Mercury voluble tongues and elegant language, by whose mechanic art a brazen serpent learned to hiss, and birds of the same metal, with other helps, out-vyed the nightingales and thrushes in their melody.

I will not omit the execrable practices of necromancers, or such as invoke the dead, and with nefarious ceremonies, rites, and sacrifices, call to aid infernal spirits, bind them in crystals, or some other vehicle, and then adore them as the ancient Romans did their lares and penates; these are their oracles, which they consult in all emergencies, and by their help work wonders in the world, foretel things future, and reveal the most remote and hidden secrets, whether past or present; nor is this a fable, or an old wife's tale, for unless the experienced nations of the earth had found some real evils from wizards, magicians, and witches, they would not have made so severe laws against them, as to aim at their extermination from the earth.

Neither need we admire, that women are as much addicted to these cursed vanities as men, since they are naturally more inquisitive into secrets, and less cautious of being imposed upon; they are prone to superstition, and from their infancy bred up to observe their dreams, their moles, and other marks upon their bodies; they covet all the depth of palmistry and physiognomy, besides a thousand other little follies.

If they meet a man in the street at first going out, they are encouraged, and take it for a sign of their good

fortune ; but if one of their own sex encounters them, they curse the undesigning female, and return home again ; they observe fatal days and nights, and certain critical hours, wherein they try experiments to know their future husbands ; they brew enchanting philters for their lovers, and intoxicate them with liquors, wherein young human Cupids have been boiled with herbs as powerful to effect their wish as those that Circe or Medea knew ; in short, there is no species of fortilegy, or divination, which vain and young maidens are not practised in, which has a fair disposition or introduction to the blackest kind of magic.

But blessed are they, O pious and most learned Hali, who being profoundly skilled, and daily conversant in the science of nature, have never tainted themselves by any unlawful commerce with spirits unclean, infernal, and enemies to God ; they are divine magicians, having celestial characters, the hidden name of God imprinted on their souls, whereby they are able to attract the angels, and make the highest spirits obey him.

Hali, God grant that thou mayest be one of this venerable and happy number. Farewell.

Paris, 5th of the 4th Moon, of the Year 1672.

VI.—*To ORCHAN CABET, Student of the Sciences, and Pensioner to the Grand Signior.*

It has been a long time since the Christians have openly published libels against our holy lawgiver, and the book which he received from the hands of Gabriel, one of the chief princes of heaven ; they affirm for an undoubted truth, that Mahomet himself composed that volume of light, by the help of Nestorius a Christian monk, and Ab-

dalla a Jew, and that it is but an artificial medley, a hodge-podge, or gallimaufry of Pagan, Jewish, and Christian principles, cunningly suited and blended together, in order to gain proselytes of all religions.

I protest, by the veneration I owe to the Eternal God of heaven, that I really believe the Alcoran to be of divine original; such is the inimitable elegance of the style, the brightness and force of its reasons and arguments, the wonderful and charming contexture of things historical, moral, and divine, that all the writings in the world beside seem to be flat and insipid, compared with this sacred and stupendous pandect of wisdom; yet I must confess I know not how to answer the accusation of the Nazarenes, because I have never read any Mussulman treatise that undertook to refute these calumnies, which makes me apt to think there is none such extant; for I have made diligent inquiry, discoursed with several learned doctors of our law, but can gain no satisfaction in that point.

Perhaps, our fathers in former ages were ignorant how the messenger of God had been traduced by the Christians, or if they knew it, yet they disdained to answer such malicious lies; and as for these modern times, the zeal of religion is grown too cold among the true believers: every one is carried away with self-love, whilst no man will be at the pains to defend the truth, or manifest the errors of our enemies; besides it is now impossible to disprove what they say concerning Nestorius and Abdalla, unless we could produce authors of unquestionable authority, who lived in Mahomet's time, and so could give a more exact account of his life than those that came after them.

However, if we consult common reason, we shall find it very improbable, that three men of such contrary prin-

ciples, as a Jew, a Christian, and a Pagan, should all voluntarily agree and jump in one design of brewing their several religions together, and drawing such an extract from them as could suit with neither of their parties singly, and was like to have all of them together for its enemies and persecutors ; there was no ground for them to expect the conversion of any Jews, so long as the Alcoran asserts Jesus the Son of Mary to be the true Messias, the Word and Breath of God, worker of miracles, healer of diseases, preacher of heavenly doctrine, and exemplary pattern of a perfect life, denying that he was crucified, but affirming that he ascended into paradise ; whereas the Jews call him an execrable impostor, magician, seducer of the nations ; and finally, by way of extreme derision, they term him " The man that was hanged on a tree."

Neither was the Alcoran like to find any better entertainment among the Christians, for this last reason, in that it denies the crucifixion of the Messias, which is the basis whereon all the superstructure of their religion is built ; it is the angular stone of Christianity ; besides, they could never be reconciled to polygamy, circumcision, abolishing of images and pictures, nor to a great many other things which the mussulman law enjoins ; especially they could never brook the denial of the Trinity.

And for the same reason, this supposed patched form of religion would have been as little welcome to the Gentiles, in that it took from them the multitude of their gods, and asserted the unity of the Divine Essence ; so that all circumstances being weighed, it appears that the Alcoran, since it has had such success in the world, could not be forged by these three, nor composed by any human pen, but is of divine original ; besides, had there been such a triumvirate known in the case, the Corsis of Mec.

ca, and other mortal enemies of Mahomet and his doctrine, would not have spared to upbraid him with it ; and if they were not known to the Arabians, who were conversant with him, how came the Christians to be informed of this private cabal, who were altogether strangers to Mahomet at that time ?

Consider well these things, and thou wilt have no reason to give credit to the calumnies and lying aspersions cast on the apostle of God by unbelievers, but being more and more confirmed in the undefiled faith, wilt glorify God, who has guided thee in the right way, and not into the way of infidels, and those with whom he is displeased.

Orchan, as thou art endowed with great learning, I counsel thee to employ it in defending the cause of the prophet who could neither write nor read.

Paris, 15th of the 6th Moon, of the Year 1672.

VII.—*To HAMET, Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

**H**ERE has been hot work this summer in the West ; the King of France has made such swift and large conquests on the Hollanders, that they have hardly had time to consider their losses, and the number of their towns fallen into their enemies hands.

It always falls out so when this monarch goes in person to the campaign, as he did this year. In a very little time he took Burich, Orsay, Rimberg, Vezel, Rées, Emmerick, and many other places ; yet this success was alloyed with the death of the Duke of Longueville, who fell a victim either to his dalliance or temerity, in not hearkning or not receiving the cries of the enemy, who demanded

quarter as the French were passing the Rhine. He was shot with a musket bullet ; and the Duke of Enguien, his cousin, very narrowly escaped, for they were both jointly engaged in the same action.

The death of this prince is much lamented, not only by those of his family, but by the whole court and city, as being in the flower of his time, having signalised his valour at the siege of Candy, the conquest of the Franche Compté, and other warlike expeditions ; and they discourse as if he had been designed to stand candidate for the Polish crown.

I am the more particular in this relation, because the enterprize of the French king in passing the Rhine is looked upon as one of the most hardy and bold that ever was taken in hand. In all the histories of these parts, there is not one example of so surprising an expedition ; and the success answered their expectations ; for the Hollanders were extremely daunted and disheartened by the news of these exploits. In a little time Arnheim and Nimeguen were reduced to the king's obedience, with the fort of Skin, and towns of D'Oesburgh, Bomel, Zutphen, Deventer, the metropolis of a province, with Weiset, Tougres, Malsick, Dortemain, Elbourg, Woerden, Arnhem, another capital city, with many more places, too tedious to be rehearsed.

In a word, such are his expeditious marches, his sage counsels, his never-failing success, that the people think it not flattery to call him a second Alexander the Great, Tamerlane, Scanderbeg, Scipio, Hannibal, and all the great heroic names in the world.

To speak the truth, the Kings of France have all along made an illustrious figure in the world ; and their famous exploits in war, with their heroic actions in time of peace, afford sufficient matter for the highest panegyric.

without an occasion of hyperboles; which made one of the Roman muftis, in a letter to the King of France, thus exprefs himself: "By how much the royal dignity tranfcends the ftate of other men, fo far is the monarchy of France exalted above all the kingdoms in the world." Pope Urban IV. faid, that the King of France was as the morning ftar in the firmament of princes, brighter than all other kings, a perfect god on earth. It is affirmed by another author, that by the King of France's shadow the whole world is ruled; and fuch was the efteem which Pope Clement had for this monarch, that he granted an hundred days indulgence to every one that prayed for the King of France; to which Pope Innocent IV. added ten days more.

It is a maxim in the Salique law, that the King of France never dies; but this indeed is altogether as true in Spain, Great Britain, and other hereditary kingdoms, till the fucceffion fails; for then it degenerates to an elective monarchy, or otherwife into ariftocracy, or laft of all into democracy, or a republic.

But France is yet free from thefe painted forms of flavery; her kings are mafculine and vigorous, her queens chafte and fruitful; there never wants an heir apparent to the crown, and this fecures the nation from a thoufand calamities which attend elective monarchies, and more popular forms of government.

"What injuftices, cruelties, maffacres, and all manner of public grievancies were complained of in Rome, after Claudius Cæfar had bought the empire of his foldiers? What bickerings between the fenate, the people, and the armies? Each party would have an emperor of their own choofing; one province was emulous of another; fo that fometimes there have been twenty or thirty emperors together, all claiming the foverignty; and when there

were but two, such was the obstinate and strong dispute between them, that they have been forced to share the empire equally, as the only means to prevent its utter dissolution. Hence sprung the first institution of colleagues in the empire; and this was the root of those factions and divisions, which increasing and growing up with time, branched forth into smaller schisms; till at length, by the ambition of some, the misfortune or carelessness of others, or at least their want of power and courage, that mighty empire was cantonised, rent in pieces, and dwindled into that narrow dominion which it now possesses under the tutelage of the House of Austria; and there appear no hopes of its ever being restored again to its pristine grandeur, unless the Bourbons, with their growing fortune, shall crown the eagle with a chaplet of Flower de Luce, and change the seat of the western monarchy from impetuous Vienna to all-conquering Paris.

In a word, Henry IV. began the design, Lewis XIII. carried it on, and this present king has so far improved it, by his matchless fortune and courage, that in all probability this or the next age will see it brought to perfection.

Accomplished minister, I bow myself with abundance of interior veneration to the dust of thy feet; I affectionately kiss the border of thy robe, and bid thee a devout adieu.

Paris, 15th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1672.

VIII.—*To WILLIAM VOISSEL, a Resident of Austria.*

THY letters make me very restless and inquisitive; they awaken new doubts and scruples in my breast, instead of removing or satisfying the old ones; fresh queries start in



my mind ; and the more thou labourest to fasten me in thy narrow superstition and bigotted zeal for the infallibility of the pope and the Roman church, the looser I grow ; my soul is like a wild colt in the wilderness, that tosses up his head, snuffs the air in indignation, and scorn- ing the bridle of servitude, neighs for joy at his native liberty, scampering at large through the solitary waste ; nor can he be wheedled by human craft to lose his be- loved freedom, or change it for a tame captivity.

I have revolved in my mind the ages that are past, and the years of untraceable origin ; I have examined the times and seasons of the world recorded in history, from Adam to Moses, from Moses to Jesus, and from Jesus to these present days wherein we live ; after all, I find that the memoirs of former transactions are covered with great darkness ; yet there are not wanting some glimmerings of light, to direct a diligent mind, an impartial lover of truth.

Jesus, the Son of Mary, was of the stock of Abra- ham, Isaac, and Jacob ; he was educated in the law of Moses, which he observed in all things to a tittle ; and in his lifetime he said, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, but to perfect it : " His apostles observed the same rule, and in all things were strict observers of the stated precepts ; so were the primitive Christians, even to the keeping of the Jewish Sabbath, besides the first day of the week, appointed for the public celebration of their own mysteries ; they abstained from blood, and from things strangled, and from all unclean meats, and such as were sacrificed to idols ; they had no images or pictures in their churches, chapels, or oratories ; in fine, they ob- served all the necessary purifications, and adored one God with unity of heart, and lively faith and good works ; whereas, thou seest the present Roman church follows

quite contrary maxims ; they give the lie to our Lord's own declaration, and positively say that he came on purpose to abolish the law, and introduce an universal liberty ; that we may now as freely banquet on the blood of slain beasts, as on the milk of the living, and eat of swine's flesh, and other abominable food, with as little detriment to our souls, as on the flesh of lambs, or other clean creatures allowed by the law of God. How can this hang together, or be credited by any rational man ? It is no wonder there are so many libertines and atheists in the world, when they find Christianity to be a mere heap of palpable contradictions.

To this thou wilt answer, according to the common rule of divines, that during the primitive times, the apostles, and all other Christians, observed the law of Moses for fear of giving scandal to the Jews, of whom great numbers were converted to the Christian faith ; when they saw that the followers of Jesus did not deviate from the institutions of the seniors, the statutes of the house of Jacob ; but that afterwards, when the gospel was preached far and wide on the face of the earth, and that many of the Gentile nations were brought over to the church, it was no longer necessary, for the sake of so contemptible a people as the Jews, to scandalise all the rest of the world, and impose on them a yoke which they were not accustomed to bear, and which would tempt them to shake off Christianity itself, rather than submit to so intolerable a burden ; therefore the church, to facilitate as much as in her lay the conversion of the Roman empire, which then extended itself over the greatest part of the earth, accommodated her injunctions, precepts, manners, and ceremonies of religion, to the present humour and mode of those times ; and whereas the Gentiles eat of all meats indifferent, so they were taught, that

this was agreeable to the will of our Lord Jesus, who came to rescue men from the slavery and bondage of Mosaic superstitions.

By the very same rule they introduced the usage of images and pictures in their churches ; and the vestments of the priests, the ornaments of the altar, the tapers, lamps, incense, flower-pots, and other religious gaieties, were fashioned according to the patterns they received from the priests of Jupiter, Apollo, Venus, Diana, and the rest of the Heathen deities. Hence the festivals of the gods and goddesses were turned to holidays of saints, and temples before consecrated to the sun, moon, and stars, were afresh dedicated to the apostles and martyrs ; thus the very Pantheon itself in Rome, or temple of all the gods, in process of time, by an ecclesiastical dexterity, was converted to the church of All-Saints ; in a word, Christianity in all things seemed no other than Gentilism in disguise ; and it must be thought a pious fraud thus to wheedle so many millions of sinners into the bosom of the church, whether they would or no.

Oh, father William ! dost thou not blush at these trivial excuses for the manifest violation of the laws of God ? Can man be wiser than the Omnipotent, or will he presume to correct the ways of him that is perfect in knowledge ? Is the true religion to be propagated by imitating the idolatrous rites of infidels, or by prostituting the sacred injunctions of Heaven to the caprices of human policy ? Did ever any wise lawgiver condescend to alter and new-model his laws, to humour a peevish captious subject ? Would he add or diminish any thing for the sake of gaining a faction or party ? And can we think that God ever designed, or can be pleased to have his divine laws garbled and mixed with profane indulgences, dispensations, and amendments of mortals, as if he had been ignorant what

he did when he divulged his statutes, and wanted the counsel of his creatures to help him out at a dead lift?

Was that tenderness to be only showed to the Jews for a time? and were they for ever afterwards to be scandalised? In vain does the church daily pray for the conversion of that people, whilst by her doctrines and daily practices she hardens them more in their infidelity. The Ethiopian church is a standing witness against her to this day, where the Christians, from all antiquity, even from the times of the apostles, have kept that part of the law of Moses which relates to cleanness and uncleanness, and prescribes the choice we are to make of meats allowed to be eaten, forbidding those that are execrable, and an abomination. Hence it is, that there are more Jews converted to the Christian belief in that country than in any other part of the world besides.

It was, in my opinion, to begin at the wrong end, thus to neglect the salvation of the Jews, our elder brethren, from whom we received the oracles of God, and ran to proselyte the Gentiles by such preposterous methods, as rendered us in a manner as much their converts as them ours; since we shuffled our religions together at random, and made a lottery of divine and human institutions, exchanging one species of superstition and idolatry for another, bartering Jupiter for Peter, and Mars for Paul, Venus and her Cupid for the Virgin Mary and her child Jesus, a god for an apostle, and a demi-god for a martyr; whilst the law itself, which is the foundation and main prop of true religion, lies neglected and trampled under foot.

The Christians of the East seem more excusable than we; for though they are not so punctual in observing all the niceties of cleanness and uncleanness, meats, and drinks, &c. as those of Ethiopia, yet they will not taste of blood, or any thing strangled; and their ecclesiastics

obtain from all manner of flesh during the whole course of their lives. They observe also many purifications, and wholesome rules of life; whereas we of the Latin church wallow in all manner of filthiness like swine, and bless ourselves as if we were the only true catholics, the elect of God, in the high road to heaven. I am at a loss what to think of these things, neither can I ever hope to see the Jews converted till these offences are removed.

There is a rumour spread up and down of the Wandering Jew; I suppose thou hast heard of such a man; he is now at Astracan, and preaches every where that there will be a reformation of Christianity after the year 1700; that the Jews shall be converted; and all this to be performed by the admirable gifts of an Englishman, who shall restore truth to its primitive lustre and integrity; they say he will cause the images and pictures to be utterly destroyed, and the law of Moses to be kept; so far as relates to cleanness and uncleanness, &c.; that in his days the temple of Solomon shall be rebuilt, and the world shall put on a new face.

Father William, I would not have thee despise these things, since they have been long foretold by Joachim the abbot, by St. Methodius, by Nostradamus the French prophet, and by many other eminent persons, whose writings are extant, and many of their predictions are already come to pass. The Roman church manifestly stands in need of a reformation; and since the governors of it cannot be prevailed on to set their hands to so pious a work, we know not but God may effect it by the means of a stranger, some obscure person at present, but whose light may shine hereafter through all generations.

Father William, thou wilt pardon the liberty I take in discoursing about these things, and remember that it is a work of charity to bear with the impertinencies of o-

there. However, I thank God I am out of the purview of the Spanish Inquisition.

Paris, 1st of the 10th Moon, of the Year 1672.

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IX.—To CODABAFRAD CHEIK, *a Man of the Law.*

I HAVE a kinsman by blood, residing at Astracan, in the parts of Muscovy; his name is Isouf, a man of an ardent spirit, and active wit; a great traveller, and one who makes good that character, by the solid remarks he has made on the most important things in his way through Asia, Africa, and Europe; for he is not in the number of those who come home from foreign countries, only laden with vanities and trifles.

From him I receive frequent dispatches, since his being settled at Astracan, in quality of a merchant, where he improves his estate to great advantage, enjoys the innocent pleasures of human life, without suffering himself to be tainted with the vices which are unprofitable, troublesome, and bring scandal to a man's reputation; for some vices, thou knowest, pass into the predicaments of virtues, when interest or necessity gives an indulgence.

There is a mutual intercourse between my cousin and me; and among other letters which he sends me, I received one lately, wherein he informs me, that he whom they call the Wandering Jew, of whom I made mention formerly in one of my dispatches to the Sublime Porte, is now at Astracan; that he preaches openly in the markets, and at the bourse or exchange, not refusing private conversation with any that desire it.

There is a great confux of people from all nations, and of all religions, to that city; he carries himself with an equal indifference to every various sect, and they all seem

mightily taken with his doctrines ; the chief thing he aims at in all his discourses is, that there will be, ere long, an universal change of religion over all the earth, and that every nation on the globe shall worship one God, obey the law of Jesus the son of Mary, and embrace one faith. When he insists on this, he seems to be void of all doubts and hesitations, speaks magisterially, like a prophet, who has received a sure and certain revelation of the thing he foretels ; but when any dispute with him, not in a spirit of captiousness, but to sift the truth, he freely condescends to answer all their objections with solid reasons, and to convince them by their own principles that it must be so.

He says, that about the year 1760 of the Christians' *hegira*, the invincible *Osman*s shall break down the fences of Europe, and shall overflow all Christendom like a mighty torrent that has overtopped its banks ; in those days there shall be great desolation in Hungary, Poland, Germany, France, and other regions of the West ; only Denmark, Sweden, Muscovy, and other countries of the North, shall remain untouched ; but above all other nations, he says Italy will be made a perfect wilderness, her cities laid in ashes, her immense wealth plundered and carried away by the greedy Tartars, Arabians, and Turks, who will spare neither age nor sex, putting all to the sword, especially the ecclesiastics, none of which shall escape the public vengeance, save three cardinals, sincere and holy persons, who shall fly into England for sanctuary by the way of the sea.

That island, he says, shall become the refuge of all such who can escape the calamities involving the adjacent countries ; thither they shall flock with their wives and children, and all their wealth, when they shall hear of the approaching terrors, the present devastations of Italy, and the universal conquests of the *Osman*s ; the king of the

country shall receive those distressed fugitives with open arms, and shall assign them certain portions of land, where they may build houses and habitations for themselves and their families, there being abundance of waste ground in that island, which they may manure and improve to their own and the public advantage.

After this, says he, shall arise a certain man in England from his obscure centre, a person filled with all manner of divine knowledge and wisdom, endowed with the spirit of prophecy, of a graceful aspect and elegant speech, of a composed gravity, and calm address, a man mild, innocent, temperate, chaste, and merciful above the rest of human race; people shall let their eyes fall on the ground when they meet him in the streets, even before they know what he is, overcome by the lustre of modesty, grace, and virtue which shines in his countenance; a person highly beloved of God and man.

This man shall meet the three fugitive cardinals in an hour of destiny; then that which lay long smothering shall suddenly burst forth into a flame; the light of God shall be diffused through his soul; his heart shall be like a lamp, and his tongue shall utter marvellous things; when he opens his mouth in divulging the mysteries of God, his words shall be like the sparks of an eternal fire, kindling flames of love in the breasts of the hearers; the cardinals shall rise from their places, and run to embrace him; a council of the chief bishops and priests of the land shall be assembled by the king's order, where the three cardinals also shall be present, and after mature deliberation, with unanimous consent, they shall call for the holy oil of consecration, and shall anoint him; they shall proclaim him the great father and patriarch of the faithful, the director of such as would go to paradise.



He shall show them a new pattern of the law of Jesus the Son of Mary, or rather the old and true one, freed from the corruptions and errors which have been superinduced for many years; their hearts shall yield as to an oracle, and the king of the country shall approve of their counsel; so shall all those of the noble and vulgar, whose good fate is written in their foreheads; as for the rest, they shall remain in their incredulity.

This holy person shall reform the errors of all the Christian churches, utterly abolish the use of images and pictures, convince the Jews of their infidelity, and chase away the darkness of superstition from the earth; he shall argue with reasons so forcible and cogent, so clear and demonstrative, that none but the wilfully obstinate will resist the truth which he divulges, or oppose his authentic mission; thousands shall be converted by the dint of his words, and ten thousands by his exemplary life; for he shall go up and down preaching and doing good works throughout Great Britain, till the number of his proselytes is complete; then he shall send apostles and messengers into Swedeland, Denmark, Muscovy, and other parts of Europe, who shall also convert an innumerable multitude to his law; foreign princes shall send their ambassadors to the King of Great Britain, and to him, for he shall be at the King's right hand; they shall enter into leagues and covenants, and all the Christian princes shall be at unity; mighty armies shall be raised in the North, who shall come down and give new courage to the oppressed Nazarenes of the West; they shall all take up arms, and chase the Osmons back again to their own country, recovering the wealth which they had taken from them.

After this, by an universal agreement of the Christians, this holy person shall be proclaimed the great pastor of the church; a prodigious army shall be gathered together

out of all the Christian nations, to conduct him to the Holy Land, and to crown him in Jerusalem; they shall vanquish and exterminate the Osmons out of Palestine, and all the adjacent regions; then shall Jerusalem be rebuilt gloriously, and the temple of Solomon with sapphires and emeralds; that city shall be the seat of the Christian mustis, this new patriarch and his successors to the day of doom; then shall the eyes of the Jews be opened; they shall acknowledge Jesus the son of Mary to be the true Messias, whom they have so frequently cursed; in a word, he says both Jews and Gentiles, people of all nations, shall resort to Jerusalem, or send thither their gifts and presents. It shall become the mistress of the whole earth.

Sage cheik, this is the substance of what my cousin Isouf acquaints me with concerning the Wandering Jew, and his new doctrines, the censure of which I leave to thee, who hast a discerning spirit, and art able to distinguish truth from an imposture. God only knows what is hid in the womb of futurity; every age is pregnant, and brings forth strange events, yet when it is over, all sounds like a dream. The world itself is no better, and I that write this, am but methinks the shadow of a vision or trance; I hardly know whether I am asleep or awake whilst my pen seems to move; therefore, it being very late, I lay it aside, and bid thee adieu, praying that thou and I may have the happiness, even in this life, to taste the sweet slumbers of paradise.

Paris, 7th of the 12th Moon, of the Year 1672.

XIII.—*To HAMET, Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

I THINK all the sensible world are inquisitive into the life of Cardinal Richlieu ; he was the pole-star of statesmen, whilst living, and now he is dead, his memoirs and maxims serve as a chart and compass, by which the politicians steer their course to avoid the rocks and shelves which threaten a kingdom or commonwealth, both in the tempests of war and the serene calms of peace.

Thou hast formerly received some remarks from me on the life of this great minister, yet I am not surpris'd at the contents of thy last dispatch, which require a farther account of him ; nobody can know too much of a man who was the miracle of his time, and not only startled the wisest of contemporaries by his prodigious actions, but has puzzled all that survive him to trace his footsteps.

Undoubtedly France owes to his conduct all her present grandeur, with the hopes she has of increasing it ; to him she is indebted for her conquests in Flanders, Sicily, Catalonia, Piedmont, and the German frontiers ; it was he first taught her the complete way to humble her insolent neighbours, and to suppress her rebellious domestics ; he much abated the troublesome weight of a crown, and made it sit lighter on the head of Lewis XIII ; whilst Cardinal Mazarini, his successor in the prime ministry, acting by the same principles, rendered it as soft and easy to the present king as the Grand Signior's turban. In a word, through the efficacy of Richlieu's politics, Lewis XIV. is become the most absolute monarch in Christendom ; for he either undermines or over-reaches his enemies, by specious treaties of peace, where he is sure to have the better of it, or he runs them down with the force of war ; to conclude, he has a long head, and a long sword, which all

will confess that have to do with him ; and this is the pure result of Richlieu's memoirs.

Yet after all, that minister had his blind side too, as well as other mortals ; public virtues, and private vices, state perfections, and personal frailties ; he served his master with a zeal and fidelity, with a wisdom and courage difficult to be matched ; but he served himself after the common manner of men ; he indulged his favourite passions, which were love, jealousy, and revenge.

There is a letter of mine registered in the archives of the sacred Porte, wherein I mentioned a particular amour of this great prelate ; besides that, he had several intrigues with the Duchefs of Elbeuf, the Countefs of Soissons, and other ladies of prime quality ; nay, there are not wanting such as confidently report, that he had two children by one of his own nieces ; and verses were spread about on that subject.

As he cherished this soft inclination to women, so he was naturally jealous of all rivals, whether of his love or interest ; he would never suffer any man to live, whom he once suspected to be in a capacity, and to make the smallest advances to thwart his designs.

For this reason, he gave the most considerable military offices, both by sea and land, to ecclesiastics, who depended on him, which occasioned a certain waggish poet to pass this jest on the public administration :

Un archevêque est admiral,  
Un Gros évêque est corporal,  
Un prélât président aux frontieres,  
Un autre a des troupes guerrieres,  
Un capuchin pense au combat,  
Un cardinal a des foldat,  
Un autre est generalissime ;  
France je croy qu'icy bas

Ton Eglise si magnanime,  
Milite et ne triomphe pas.

Reflecting hereby on the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, the Bishop of Chartres, the Bishop of Nantes, the Bishop of Mande, Father Joseph a friar, Cardinal de Valette, and Cardinal Richlieu ; these being the chief commanders of the land and sea forces.

It will make thee smile, perhaps, to read an epitaph that was made on that Father Joseph above named ; who being esteemed a very infamous man, and lying interred in the same tomb with another friar named Father Angel, provoked some satirical wit to put this sarcasm on him :

Passant, n'est ce pas chose étrange,  
De voir un Diable auprès d'un Ange ?

I believe Father Joseph was the worse beloved for being Cardinal Richlieu's confessor ; it was observed that he died suddenly, without confessing himself, which occasioned another epitaph to be made on him :

Sous ce tombeau git un bon pere  
Qui eut tant de discretion  
Que pour être bon secrétaire  
Il mourut sans confession.

Every body suspects the cardinal had a hand in his precipitate death, to prevent his telling of tales ; for he knew all his secrets, and the cardinal was known to be with him when he died. It was during the siege of Brisac, a city on the Rhine, which was then upon the point of surrendering to the French ; and the news coming to the cardinal, just as Father Joseph was in his last agonies, he came to his bedside, and laying his mouth close to the poor friar's ear, cried out as loud as he could, *Courage, courage, mon pere, nous avons pris Brisac.* A strange cor-

dial for a dying man ; and somebody made these verses on it :

*Ite cucullati, vobis si purpura ridet,  
Fungitur inferni munere pontificis.*

There is another instance of this cardinal's revengeful temper and his cruelty. One day the Duke of Orleans, who hated him mortally, went to his palace, under pretence of giving him a visit, but really with a design to stab him ; however, as soon as he came into the cardinal's presence, his nose fell a-bleeding, which appearing to him as an ominous presage of what he was going about, he was struck with some remorse, and frankly confessing his design to the cardinal, begged his pardon : That cunning minister dissembling his resentments, knowing the duke was not a man of resolution enough to undertake so bold an action, unless he had been extremely animated by somebody near him, he presently reflected on Monsieur Puylaurent, the duke's chief favourite. Immediately he decreed his ruin, and to effect it with more ease, he pretended an extraordinary friendship to him, offering him one of his nieces in marriage. Monsieur Puylaurent, who suspected not the train which was laid for him, embraced the proposal with much joy, as hoping thereby to raise and establish his fortune under the protection of his potent uncle ; in fine, he married the cardinal's niece, but lived not to enjoy her ; for on the very nuptial day, the cardinal caused him to be arrested and sent prisoner to the Bastile, where he was poisoned by a friar in a glass of wine. As soon as he had swallowed the fatal potion, the friar told him, " It was necessary for him to confess his sins that very moment, in regard he had but a few minutes to live." Monsieur Puylaurent threw the glass at the friar's head, giving him two or three swinging curses,

and then fell on his knees to confession, which being performed, he expired.

Sometimes the cardinal was very singular and ingenious in the execution of his revenge, as if he endeavoured to persuade the world that he fulfilled the law of the talio, which requires an eye for an eye, and punishes by an exact kind of proportion; as it happened in the case of the Dukes of Guise, Montmorency, and Monsieur de Bassompierre. These were the heads of a faction, which diametrically opposed the cardinal and his party; he was the grand eye-sore, the chief obstacle of their designed prevalence at the court; wherefore, if they could but once remove him out of the way, they thought themselves sure of the king's ear in all things. To effect this, they consulted together how to dispose of him: The Duke of Guise was of opinion, he should not be killed, in regard he was a prince of the holy church, but that he should be sent to Rome, there to attend the proper affairs of his ecclesiastical function, among the rest of his purpled brethren; the Duke of Montmorency was clearly for taking off his head; but Monsieur de Bassompierre was against both these methods; "for, (said he) if he be sent to Rome, he will be always plotting of mischief against us; and it would be an eternal blemish to France, if the purple of the holy church should be stained with blood. Let us send him close prisoner to the Bastile, where he may spend the remainder of his days in writing learned books."

The cardinal, who had his agents busy about in all parts, soon was informed of this consult; and he retaliated every man's sentence upon its own author; for he banished the Duke of Guise, confining him to Rome; he beheaded the Duke of Montmorency, and imprisoned Monsieur de Bassompierre in the Bastile, where he lay till the cardinal's death.

I could insert a great many more remarks concerning Cardinal Richlieu, but I am afraid of offending by tediousness; if thou commandest me, another letter shall present thee with more varieties.

In the mean time, with humblest obedience and respect I desist, and take my conge; wishing thee a long life on earth, full of honour, and a fame without blemish, when thou art translated to heaven.

Paris, 15th of the 1st Moon, of the Year 1673.

XIV.—*To MUHY ABU'L, Tabyan, Professor of Philosophy at Fez.*

THOU hast laid a grand obligation on me by thy last dispatch; whose learned contents have opened my eyes, or rather drawn back the veil which covered the interiors of Afric from the view of strangers. Now I stand as it were on the top of a high mountain, from whence I take a clear prospect of those fair regions, inhabited by blacks; I survey the paradise of the torrid zone, a most fertile and populous climate, though blind antiquity could not discern a blade of grass growing there, nor any of human race fetching their breath.

My mind revels in perfect voluptuousness, and all the faculties of my soul banquet on the contemplation of that most delectable precinct of the world. Oh, Afric! thou mayest be called the bazeo, or market, where nature exhibits all her choicest wonders; thy mountains are higher than the clouds, their tops are inaccessible, they approach the borders of paradise; on them fall the rivers of Eden in mighty cataracts; the noise of the precipitate waters is heard afar off, like the sound of remote thunders; it deafens the ears, and astonishes the minds of mortals; the



ambitious under-growing rocks are proud of the glorious cascade, and envy those that shoot up above them which receive the sacred flood at the first hand, from the very wings of Gabriel.

Happy are the valleys which lie beneath, and are yearly impregnated by the heavenly deluge; the grateful fields and plains, in humble acknowledgment, make the returns of corn and fruits in due season; the marshes of Egypt are as the gardens of Asia, and the banks of the Nile as the fenced seminaries of Babylon, fragrant and abounding in all sorts of vegetable delicacies.

My heart is ravished with the speculations of these things; I am full as the moon, and cannot utter my sentiments in order; visions of Ethiopia, Morocco, Fez, and the Land of Anahers, invade my eyes; I behold the beautiful provinces of the south in a trance; I stand gazing in ecstacy on the shady groves of Benia and Arder, the haunts of lovely demons, the genii of the upper element, who daily descend to these refreshing solitudes, and converse with their younger brethren, incarnate mortal demons, the sons of men.

I consider with admiration the monsters of Afric, the creatures of the sun and slime; with contemplative horror, I draw near the dens of dragons, the purlieu of crocodiles, and other amphibious animals, which lurk among the reeds of Nile and Niger, to trepan with feigned cries the upwary traveller.

In fine, I am moved with superlative devotion and joy, when I peruse thy accurate description of the principal mosque at Fez; methinks I see the stupendous fabric making its lofty advances towards heaven; my eyes revere the holy and magnificent structure, on the outside adorned with stately towers and minarets, and covering fifty hundred paces in its circuit; but when my fancy enters

in by any of the one-and-thirty gates by night, I am dazzled with the insupportable splendour of so many thousand lamps as burn within that most illustrious temple; I admire with proportionate veneration the character thou givest of all the other magnificences in that ancient and noble city, with whatsoever else thou sayest of the whole kingdom; and the adjacent regions.

In answer to thy request, I will in another letter send thee a short portraiture and history of Constantinople, but now I am interrupted by company; besides, my letter would be too long.

I beseech thee to cherish that friendship which thou hast hitherto showed me; and let me have the honour of thy frequent conversation by letters; for though I live in a populous city, yet my life seems like that of an owl or a pelican of the desert, extremely solitary and dejected.

Paris, 19th of the 3d Moon, of the Year 1673.

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#### XV.—*To the Same.*

SUCH is the zeal I have to demonstrate how highly I value thy friendship, that I would not suffer this post to escape without gratifying thy expectations; I just now dismissed my company, and having time enough, will entertain thee with an abstract of what I know to be most remarkable in the state of Constantinople, both at present and in ancient times.

In the first place, it will be convenient for thee to know, that this city was formerly called Byzantium, from one Byzas, admiral of the Spartan fleet, under Pausanias the king of Sparta, who laid the first foundations of it. The story is this:

In old time the Grecians having a mind to build a new city in some part of Thrace, and being at odds about the choice of a spot of ground suitable to so great and important an undertaking, they at last agreed to consult the oracle of Apollo; they did so, and were answered, "That they should lay the foundation of the city right over-against the blind men;" for so the inhabitants of Chalcedon were called, because when they were upon the same design of founding a new city, they could not discern between the fertility of the soil on that side the Propontis where Constantinople now stands, and the barrenness and desert state of the ground where they built on the other side.

Pausanias therefore busying his mind about these things, and pitching right upon the sense of the oracle, caused the foundations of the city to be laid exactly over-against Chalcedon; and when it was finished, it was called Byzantium, as I have said, from Byzas, who had the oversight of the work.

It retained this name many years and ages, flourishing in a high degree among the other cities of Greece and Thrace, being esteemed the gate of Europe and Asia, by which the mutual commerce of both those quarters of the earth was interchangeably held up.

But after the days of the Messias there arose an Emperor of Rome, whose name was Constantine. This prince, as it is recorded in Roman histories, saw a vision in the air, when he was at the head of his army marching against Licinius, and preparing to give battle; he and all his soldiers beheld the figure of a cross, with these words plainly engraven in the firmament, "In hoc signa vinces." Constantine took this for a good omen, and caused a standard of silver to be made exactly after the same form, to which he appointed fifty standard-bearers,

to carry it by turns, and to guard it ; for it was exceeding rich, being embossed all over with rubies, diamonds, pearls, and other precious jewels of the Orient. He built a pavilion also for the glorious idol, and being instructed in the Christian law by Eusebius, Pamphilus, and other learned mollahs, he was at last baptised by Sylvester the pope.

This great monarch, as the story goes, being very pious, and having conceived a profound veneration for Pope Sylvester, left him the dominion of Rome, and a great part of Italy, whilst he removed the imperial court to the East, and took up his residence at Byzantium, which he augmented with innumerable stately edifices, striving, if possible, to equal it with the majesty and grandeur of Rome ; he collected whatsoever was precious and beautiful in all the East to adorn the city withal ; witness the palaces of superb architecture, the admirable height and form of divers obelisks and pillars, all made of marble, porphyry, or jasper ; not to insist on the prodigious strength and firmness of the walls, the costly aqueducts, with other serviceable things. At last, that he might consecrate himself to immortal renown, he called the city by his own name Constantinople, or the City of Constantine, by which name it is known even to this day. It was also called New Rome after it once became the seat of the Christian emperors, in whose possession it remained till it was taken by Mahomet II. invincible Emperor of the Ottomans, in the year 1453, according to the epocha of the Nazarenes, on the third day of the week which they call Pentecost.

It had been a grand neglect and oversight in any prince so potent and politic as Mahomet was, to suffer such an opportunity to escape as fortune offered him of taking the most opulent and glorious city in the world ;

for there was an irreconcilable schism broke forth between the churches of the East and West ; there were two or three popes at the same time quarrelling in Rome for the supremacy ; there was a war of fifty years standing between the French and the English which unhinged all the courts in Europe ; the Christians had long before (by dear bought experience, the loss of many hundred thousand men, and infinite sums of money, consumed in those vain and rash expeditions, which they sanctified with the specious title of the Holy War), found that it was not easy to wrest one town of strength out of the hands of the tenacious mussulmans, much less to defend it long, or save their most important cities from the fury of a Turkish reprisal ; they were sick and disgusted with the visionary ruff of Peter the Hermit, and all illuminatos like him grew out of fashion ; every prince and state in western Christendom began to mind their own interest ; no more enthusiastic tales of that kind would go down, the great ones had opened their eyes.

Besides, he that was then Emperor of Greece, Constantius Paleologus, was looked upon by the Christians as a tyrant, the offspring of tyrants and usurpers. The Grecians still retained the black memoirs of those horrid and nefarious tragedies acted by Michael Andronicus, John and Manuel, the predecessors and ancestors of this Constantine ; and they had such a particular aversion for his government, that though there were infinite treasures of gold and silver in the hands of the rich citizens of Constantinople, when that city was besieged by Mahomet II. yet no man would part with the least sum of money to support the public cause, but chose rather, in a kind of a revengeful and desperate fullness, to fall into the hands of the victorious Osmans, than to afford their hated sovereign any relief.

Thus fell that queen of cities, the glory of all the East, under the power of our puissant emperors, in whose possession it remains to this day ; and may it so remain till the moon shall be in her last wane, and the sun shall cease to shine on the world.

In the mean time I will entertain thee *en passant*, as the French call it, with a short view of the chief magnificences in Constantinople.

That which first draws the admiration of travellers is the glorious structure of Sancta Sophia, a temple consecrated to the Eternal Wisdom by which the worlds were made, built by the Emperor Justinian with inimitable magnificence, though afterwards spoiled and plundered of its chiefest ornaments by the greedy soldiers of Mahomet II. whom I have so often mentioned, and six parts of it entirely subverted by succeeding emperors.

Pity it was if furious and ill-grounded superstition was the cause of such deplorable ruins. What can be said of those who demolished the sub-sana of the third temple, celebrated in the universal history of the world? That of Diana at Ephesus, it is true, was the pattern, yet it was not much beyond it. Solomon's boasted sanc at Jerusalem, without iron, pins, or nails, or other work of the hammer, excelled but a little in the artifice and symmetry ; indeed, the lustre of Sion's mosque was more radiant and glorious in workmanship of gold, the walls and floor being overlaid with that metal, and the roof on the outside was, as it were, studded with spikes of beaten gold so thick that there was not room for a bird to perch between them ; and this was done to prevent the profanation of the temple by their muting on it.

When the sun shone in his full strength, the covering of the temple, thus adorned, looked like a firmament glittering with innumerable stars.

But to return to the mosque of Sancta Sophia, let us consider it in its primitive state, and we shall find some excellent curiosities : Among the rest there was a candlestick or sconce of beaten gold, so admirably contrived, that it spontaneously fed the bowls of seven branches with a constant stream of oil, which by equal measures flowed into them from the hollow of the shaft ; so that if the flame but of one single one had wanted aliment, all the rest must have been extinguished at the same time.

The walls of this glorious mosque, within and without, present the eye with nothing but white marble, porphyry, and other precious stones ; the roof is of a prodigious height, covered with lead without, but proudly ostentous of its inward ceiling, which is divided into vaults and arches richly adorned with golden fret-work, and supported by pillars of Cyprian jasper, purest white marble and porphyry. There is a marble stone in the mosque had in great reverence by the true faithful, because the tradition goes, " That on it Mary, the mother of Jesus, washed the infant prophet's linen."

There are also under the mosque innumerable vaults or oratories, full of altars and sepulchres, but there is no access to them, in regard the doors are walled up.

In a place not far from these, you find ten huge vessels full of oil, reserved there ever since the days of Constantine the Great, yet remain uncorrupted, being of colour white like milk. It is an inexpressible crime for any but the Grand Signior's physicians and surgeons to use or touch it ; and they compound certain medicaments with it for the service of him and his seraglio.

Now I remember what I have read in a very authentic historian, concerning an oil made by certain holy persons who only had the secret of it : As the story goes,

it was extracted from the leaves and chips of wood which are found floating in the rivers that descend out of paradise : This oil they compounded with other ingredients, and performed cures therewith which were esteemed miraculous ; it was sent from one prince to another, as a sacred and invaluable treasure, till at last it came into the hands of the eastern patriarchs who presided over the Christians of the Greek, Armenian, and Egyptian churches, who pretended to the only true mystery and power of making it at this very day ; and that though the ancient popes of Rome were formerly presented with a yearly portion of it, so long as they remained in communion with the patriarchs of the East, yet after Victor had once made the fatal schism, which never could be healed since, the holy favour was denied to his successors, who, instead of the original genuine oil, were forced to counterfeit it, using a spurious unguent to preserve the authority of their religious sacraments ; and hence they say it comes to pass that few or none are ever healed by the extreme unction of the Latin church.

God knows whether this be truth or no ; but I am apt to think that the ten jars of oil before mentioned, which lie under the mosque of Aja-Sophian, are relics of the ancient patriarchs of Constantinople, who had the secret of compounding the mysterious extract.

From the place where these vessels are kept, you descend into the dormitories of royal Ottoman carcasses, the sons of our renowned emperors ; from thence you pass into two caverns, one leading directly to the fraglie, the other extending itself under the buildings of the city by a vast long track of ground : I know no use there is at present of the former cave, but the latter serves for a work-room to certain poor silk-spinners.

This letter would be too tedious if I should describe



all the other mosques and buildings of note in Constantinople; wherefore, not to tire thee, I will reserve what remains to be said of that glorious city for other dispatches.

In the mean time, with an affectionate conge of my soul, I bid thee adieu, praying God to let thee crop the choicest flowers of human happiness.

Paris, 14th of the 5th Moon, of the Year 1673.

**XVI.—To HAMET, Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.**

Now I will perform the promise I made thee long ago, which was to present thee with an idea of the different strength and policies of these Nazarene kingdoms and states, wherein I will begin with Germany, which is, as it were, the last retrenchment of the declining Roman empire.

The annals affirm, that in the reign of Charles V. when the mussulmans invaded Austria with innumerable forces, that emperor opposed them with an army of 90,000 foot and 30,000 horse. Maximilian II. went beyond him, and raised 100,000 foot and 35,000 horse. Neither was corn dear in so vast an army. It is certain that the German emperor can, upon occasion, send into the field 200,000 expert soldiers. It is moreover observed, that from the year 1560 of the Christians hejira, even to these present times, there has been no war between France, Spain, and the Netherlands, wherein many thousands of Germans have not served.

Their best infantry is gathered out of Bavaria, Austria, and Westphalia, and their choicest cavalry come

out of Brunſwick, Juliers, and Frankendal. Both foot and horſe fight better or more ſucceſſfully in an open plain or field than in narrow covert places, ſuch as lanes, woods, &c. ; for they are not good at taking advantages of ground, or at politic ſkirmiſhes and cunning ambuſcades ; they have not patience to lie long waiting the enemy's motions, neither care they to divide their main body into fragments or detachments, but they love to wedge themſelves all together in form of a triangle, and ſo march with grave and ſlow pace, that ſo they may break through their enemies, and confound their order, which they eſteem a certain ſtep to victory ; they fight better alſo under a foreign commander than a general of their own nation ; they cannot endure the hardſhips and afflictions of a long ſiege, but when once they begin to ſmart for want of proviſions, they ſoon capitulate and ſurrender ; neither have they more patience in a camp to bear the injuries of weather, but they make haſte to ſet upon the enemy, and decide the quarrel in a pitched combat, wherein, if their firſt onſet fail, they ſeem like men ſtupified, aſtoniſhed, or in a trance, not knowing whether they had beſt to renew the aſſault or to fly ; and if they once fly there is no rallying them again. Yet theſe armies are not raiſed without a vaſt expence, nor maintained without a greater, being cumbered with a train of women, children, and ſervants, who conſume the proviſions of the ſoldiers, ſo that many times they ſtarve for want of common ammunition bread.

Their horſes may be called rather ſtrong than ſprightly and bold, being for the moſt part taken from the plough or other rural drudgeries ; in a word, they are like their riders, phlegmatic and dull ; having this alſo peculiar in their conſtitution, that at the ſight of blood they

shrink, and are ready to faint, whereas the Spanish horse gather fresh courage from this spectacle.

The Germans also have considerable forces by sea, but they seldom make use of them, unless it be against the Danes and Swedes. Besides all this, their auxiliary armies are not to be forgot, which they receive from Italian princes, from the Dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, and sometimes from the trusty Swiss.

But there are two things chiefly wanting in this empire, amidst all its numerous forces; one is, unity and concord among the subjects; another is, a fixed resolution and readiness to enterprize any thing of moment. Their Hans towns are always jealous of the neighbouring princes; and these again give them occasion to suspect their power, and hate their interest, which they so often employ against them, by encroaching on their privileges. Then the catholics and protestants are always quarrelling, and one set of protestants perpetually persecuting another: Hence it falls out that the princes go so unwillingly and rarely to the diets; and when they come there, they spin out so much time in adjusting their private pretensions, claims, and privileges, in performing of state ceremonies, and in deliberating concerning the public good, whilst every one contradicts his neighbour, and labours with all his might to establish his own opinion, and get it passed into a decree by the sanction of the diet, that before they come to any resolves, an expeditious and potent enemy might rush into the heart of the country, and even take all these northern blockheads prisoners.

The German empire is elective, and the power of choosing Cæsar is in the hands of seven princes; these are, first, the Archbishop of Mentz, Grand Chancellor of the Empire, in whose custody are the archives and de-

esses of the German diets ; the second is the Archbishop of Trier, or Treves, Great Chancellor of the Empire for France ; the third is the Archbishop of Cologne, Great Chancellor of the Empire for Italy ; the fourth is the King of Bohemia, Cup-bearer to the Emperor ; the fifth is the Count Palatine of the Rhine, Master of the Imperial Palace ; the sixth is the Duke of Saxony, Marshal or Sword-bearer to the Emperor ; the seventh and last is the Marquis of Brandenburg, Great Chamberlain or Treasurer of the Empire.

There are reckoned twenty-five politic princes or dukes of the empire, six marquises, five landgraves, nine archbishops, and bishops forty-seven ; abbots who enjoy the title and dignity of princes twelve, abbots of a lower degree fifty-two ; with innumerable others too tedious to be named. They reckon also eighty-two counts of principal note, besides many of a meaner figure ; they number forty-nine barons and free lords, ninety Hans towns, and ten circles of the empire.

In the German diets, this order is observed : When the emperor is placed in the throne, the Archbishop of Trier takes his place just over against him ; he of Mentz sits next to the emperor, on his right hand ; the second place belongs to the King of Bohemia, and the third to the Count Palatine of the Rhine ; on the emperor's left hand the Archbishop of Cologne takes the first place, the Duke of Saxony the next, and the Marquis of Brandenburg the third.

The Hans towns, which acknowledge no other lord but the emperor, are governed by their own municipal laws and privileges ; in some of them the common people bear rule, in others a mixture of the commons and nobles, and many of them wholly obey the nobility.

No man salutes by the title of emperor him whom the princes have elected to that dignity, till he be crowned by the pope or musti of Rome. They call him Cæsar, or King of the Romans, or King of Germany, but not emperor, till the coronation is finished; nor does the emperor, even after he is crowned and established in the throne, exercise an absolute power in all things, affairs of importance being generally referred to the public diets or divans of the empire, where the electoral princes deliberate all things, on whom the very power of the emperor himself depends.

These diets are very confused and tedious, in regard the princes seldom appear there in their own persons, but send their ambassadors and deputies, who yet have not full power to conclude any thing without particular orders from their respective masters; so that a prodigious deal of time is taken up in sending couriers to inform the princes of all emergent counsels and transactions, and in waiting for their express instructions and answers again.

In a word, considering the diversity of interests carried on by the electoral princes, their mutual feuds and dissensions, domestic animosities, and foreign engagements, both on religious and political accounts, it is a miracle that this tottering empire stands so long, and does not fall to ruin, especially being environed, and almost continually assaulted by three potent enemies, the King of Sweden, the King of France, and our invincible monarch; not to mention the frequent incursions of the Muscovites and Tartars, the revolts of the Hungarians, Transilvanians, Bosnians, Croats, and other nations, which are counted members of the German empire; but he abounds in men and money, with all other necessities to support his

wars, there not being a more rich and populous region on earth than Germany.

Sage Hamet, when the determined period is come, God will abase the pride of these infidels by the hands of the true believers; the riches of the West shall become the spoil of Eastern heroes, and the posterity of Shem shall take root in the cities of Japhet.

Mayest thou live till that time, to triumph in the glory of the house of Ismael, when they shall be exalted more than in the ages that are past.

Paris, 9th of the 7th Moon, of the Year 1673.

XVII.—*To CARA HALI, Physician to the Grand Signior.*

THY memory is like the smell of incense, refreshing as wine of Tenedos in a goblet of pure gold; when my heart is almost dead with melancholy; when I can find no pleasure in company abroad, and the very elements of which I am made frown upon me; when the time of night forces me to come home sighing as to a prison, and the hangings of my bed-chamber look dull, and seem to be painted with horrid tragedies; in a word, when every thing in nature appears in an angry threatening fit, then I think of thee, my friend, and that thought relieves me; thy beloved idea is a perfect talisman, working wonders in my soul; it charms or counter-charms, as my occasions do require; no fears or griefs, or other melancholy passions, dare abide its energy; as soon as it appears, each baneful thought is gone; the troops of sad chimeras vanish like the morning mists before the sun. Thou art as a strong tower or fortress, where I can take sanctuary from my enemies; an impregnable citadel, seated on the top of a high rock, from whence I can look

down with scorn on my persecutors beneath, possessing myself in perfect security.

I dare not so much as vent my thoughts to another, though a Mussulman, for fear of some untoward consequence ; so industrious is the malice of most men, so vigilant and studious for an opportunity of doing mischief ; and as for these infidels, my conversation is for the most part histrionic. I am constrained to act to the life a very zealous Christian and a Catholic, when, God knows, my heart keeps not time with my exterior actions and words. Not but that there are sceptics among the Christians, as well as among the true believers, but they are generally very private and reserved ; for open blasphemy, or what is reputed so here, is certainly punished with death.

I sometimes meet with ingenuous and candid souls, with whom I can discourse freely, and like a man that doubts of many things which others currently believe ; yet we dare not trust each other too far, nor the very air in which our words vanish, after it has helped to form them, lest some sly envious demon should catch the transient sound, and reverberate the yet articulated body of particles which made it into some inquisitive ear to ruin us ; for there are certain busy gossiping echos scattered up and down the elements, which are always listening to the words of mortals ; and if the spiteful elves can but take hold of any syllable to do a man an injury, they are big till they have vented it ; yet they make no show or noise, but whisper out their tales in secret, sometimes in dead of night, when men are fast asleep, at other times when they are deeply musing on the hidden things of nature ; for it is only to the wise, the sage, the noble, and the great, that they reveal these passages, because it is such alone have ears to hear them ; they haunt the bed-chambers of kings and princes, to tell them news in

dreams ; they are the swiftest couriers in the world, for they have wings, and fly from court to court, and from one climate to another in a moment's time ; they are always buzzing in the ears of statesmen and great politicians, to whom they show the dark intrigues of foreign and domestic enemies ; thus are conspiracies and plots of rebels oft discovered, though managed never so secretly. They visit now and then the closets of philosophers, and such as love the sciences ; men of abstracted souls, whose thoughts are volatile and pure, their fancies lively and vegete : To these they unfold the covert mysteries of nature, and show them things to come : They frame the ideas of remote, unknown events, which they imprint upon the ductile minds of prophets and holy men, inspiring them with strange and unaccountable presages of what shall shortly happen to themselves or others, whether it be good or evil ; for these busy bodies are the daughters of the world's great soul, and they inherit an universal sense and feeling of whatsoever happens in the elements. It is true, some knowledge they acquire by study and observation, even as we mortals do, but at a far swifter rate ; their airy bodies do not so oppress their intellectual faculties, as our gross hulks of flesh do ours ; we are forced to dig and plow, or to sow and harrow, for small returns of science ; our soil is barren ; it must be manured and cultivated with art and cost, before it yields a tolerable harvest of what deserves the name of solid knowledge ; but these defecate tenants of the air have no more to do, but to be merely passive, and they straight learn every thing ; for the eternal Sapience wanders through the universe, to seek out such as will or can imbibe her free impression ; she voluntarily slides into receptive souls, and fills them with her rays. Thus the sublimer genii of the air bask in an open orb of intellectual light, because



they are embodied in the most refined and purest matter, whereas we mortals must be thankful for her illuminations by retail; she only shines on us through chinks and crannies of our dungeon flesh, and yet but seldom so in direct beams; few men can boast that privilege; the greatest part walk only in the uncertain twilight of opinion, or at best in the faint languid glimmerings of human reason, which, like the moon, conveys the original light of science to us by reflection, and at second hand; we are fain to learn from books, from conversation and experience.

Courteous Hali, thou wilt pardon the confusedness and want of order in this letter, when thou shalt consider the force of melaucholy which first prompted me to write it; for, being very sad, and overcast with clouds of dark and gloomy thoughts, which different passions caused to jostle one against another in my troubled mind, I knew not how to escape the tempest better than by writing to thee, my learned friend, though only to express my circumstances; for when I began I knew not what to say, but it was an ease to write at random any thing to breathe my heart and ventilate my spleen; but the specific remedy of my grief consisted in addressing to thee, my dear physician, whose very remembrance is a catholicon, proof against all my maladies.

Adieu, thou *Æsculapius* of the Ottomans, and live for ever.

Paris, 15th of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1673.

XVIII.—To *Musu Abū L. Tabyan, Professor of Philosophy at Fek.*

THOU shalt see that I am a man of my word, and will keep my promise; for this dispatch contains a farther dis-

scription of Constantinople which I engaged to present thee with in my last.

This famous city is sixteen miles in circuit, and contains nine hundred thousand inhabitants; it is divided into three parts, by the intercourse of certain arms of the sea, and almost forms the figure of a triangle; the walls are of an incredible height, and encompass seven hills within their extent; one is near the Grand Signior's seraglio, another is in the opposite corner of the city, which leads to Adrianople; between two others there lies a plain which is called the Great Valley; in this is to be seen an aqueduct of admirable contrivance and structure, the work of Constantine the Great, who by this conveyed water to the city from seven miles distance; Solyman II. augmented it, by opening a current of water two miles beyond the source of Constantinople, which runs through seven hundred and forty pipes into the city, besides those which serve the mosques, the baths, and houses of purification.

At the extremity of the town is seen the antique building of a fortress, which is called the Castle of the Seven Towers, a work of inimitable architecture. There is a garrison in it of two hundred and fifty soldiers, not one of which dares to set his foot out of the castle-gate without the leave of the visier azen, unless it be on two certain days in the year, that is, the first of Beiram and Ramézan.

In this place formerly the Ottoman emperors used to lay their treasures of gold and silver, their arms and ammunition, their books, and whatsoever they esteemed precious; but Amurat, the son of Selimus II. translated all these things into the seraglio, where they have been kept ever since; and this castle is turned into a prison for kings and princes taken captives by the true faithful, as also for rebellious bassas and other persons of quality. Here Co

refqui, Vayvod of Moldavia, was shut up in the year 1617 of the Christians era; and in the year 1622 of the same date, the rebellious janizaries imprisoned their sovereign lord, Sultan Osman, whom afterwards they strangled in the same place.

There are above two thousand mosques, oratories, and sepulchres, within the walls of Constantinople. I have already described that of Aia-Sophian in my last; it remains now that I speak of four others built by some of our former emperors; the first and chiefest was built by Sultan Mahomet II. to express his gratitude to God for the taking of Constantinople; it is a magnificent structure, raised according to the pattern of Sancta Sophia. He caused an hundred stately chambers to be built round about it, both for the service of the imaums and mollahs who belong to the mosque, and for the entertainment of strangers, let them be of what nation or religion soever. He raised also fifty other chambers without these for the use of the poor, and endowed the mosque with sixty thousand ducats of yearly revenue.

The second mosque was built by Bajazet II. the son of this Mahomet; the third was built by Selimus I.; the fourth by Solyman the Magnificent. The three last of these princes lie buried each in his own mosque, under monuments of a superb figure, innumerable lamps burning over them, and round about them, night and day, whilst certain mollahs pray by turns, without ceasing, for the health of the departed royal souls.

But the last of these mosques, which was built, as I have said, by Sultan Solyman, far exceeds all the rest, and comes not short of Sancta Sophia, in the richness of marble, porphyry, and other excellent materials.

The Greeks have forty churches and chapels in Constantinople, wherein they perform the Nazarene worship;

the Armenians have four. Those of the Latin communion have a college annexed to it for a certain number of Jesuits; this is seated in Pera, which is a kind of suburb to Constantinople.

The Jews have great liberty in the imperial city; their habitations are contiguous, taking up nine principal streets, and they have eight-and-thirty synagogues.

The walls of the city remain very entire, and are double towards the land; there are nineteen gates in them, one of which is called the holy gate, in respect of a vast multitude of Christian saints who lie buried in a chapel hard by it. It was through this gate that Mahomet II. made his triumphant entry into Constantinople, on purpose, as it were, to profane the reputed sanctity of the place, and insult over their false gods, whilst he came to establish the law and worship of the only true God, Creator of heaven and earth.

There are abundance of antique monuments in the city, as pyramids and obelisks of admirable figure and contrivance; in one place, there are three serpents of marble, stretching themselves to the height of two men, and mutually twisting about each other; the report goes, that these were erected by a magician at a time when the citizens were much infested with living serpents, and that by this enchantment they were freed.

One of these has a wound in the neck, which was given it by Mahomet II. when he rode into the vanquished city; for he beholding the horrid idol, and guessing right that it was the work of some magician, was moved with holy zeal and indignation; wherefore, couching his spear, and giving spurs to his horse, he ran full tilt against it, and wounded one of the serpents in the neck, which is seen to this day.

In the same pavement there stands a very elegant column of rustic workmanship, as they call it, the marbles of which it consists being fastened together without the intervention of mortar, bitumen, or any other cement; it has within a winding staircase, by which one may go up to the top.

In this place, which is called the Hippodrome, the Ottoman grândeex exercise themselves on horseback, and sometimes the Grand Signior himself, especially on great festivals.

Round about it there are above two thousand little shops of tailors or bouchers, for the use of those who would have their garments mended, scowered, and polished at a small price; and yet out of this so contemptible a trade, the Grand Signior receives a yearly custom of eleven thousand sequins. By this thou mayest take an estimate of his other revenues, which flow into his coffers from all parts of so vast an empire.

There are above forty thousand warehouses, and shops of merchants, brokers, pedlars, hucksters, and such like callings, each trade having their proper bazar, or market, according to the quality of the goods they sell; but there is one more eminent than all the rest, which is called Bastian, where are goldsmiths, jewellers, and such as deal in any manner of fine and costly things. This place is environed with very strong walls, six feet thick, and is shut up every night by four double gates, and at other times as occasion requires; so that it looks like a little well-fortified town.

In this wealthy market there is a gallery or piazza neatly arched and supported by twenty-four pillars; under this there are abundance of little shops, six feet long and four in breadth; here all those precious commodities

are exposed to sale on tables or counters, and with their lustre dazzle the eyes of such as pass by.

Thou mayest also conjecture at the vast gains of these merchants, by the rates which they pay to the Grand Signior only for their licence to sell in this place; I have known one man, that was my particular acquaintance, give yearly two thousand franks for this liberty; and he told me, that no man could enjoy the freedom of the place under that price, unless he had great favour shown him, which is very rare, and even then it would not be much abated.

As one passes from this market one way, there arises a stately column of porphyry begirt in many places with iron hoops; and a little distant you see another more lofty than this; it is called the historical column, being engraven all over with the figures of men; in this also there is a stair-case to the top, but much broken, and in danger of falling, if it were not strengthened and held together with vast hoops of iron.

The next thing worthy to be seen is the old palace of Constantine the Great; worthy, I say, to be seen only for its antiquity, for it is no very elegant building; yet it has this commendation, that it stands in the purest and most wholesome air of the whole city.

There is another market also walled in, besides that of the goldsmiths, &c. which has a piazza supported by sixteen pillars; in this are sold all manner of silks; and a little way off from this is the bazar where they sell slaves; so great are the gains of this traffic, that those who use it pay to the Grand Signior, by way of custom, the yearly sum of sixteen thousand sequins.

The vintners, victuallers, and futlers, who sell wine to the Christians and Jews, and privately to mussulmans, pay yearly fifty-eight thousand seven hundred and eighty-

eight sequins; the very fishermen of Constantinople, who live along the strand, pay the yearly sum of twenty-nine thousand three hundred and ninety-four sequins; the corn market, where all sorts of grain, pulse, meal, and flour are sold, pays yearly into the treasury fourteen purses of money, each purse being worth one thousand six hundred thirty and three sequins; the Egyptian merchants who bring their goods from Aleaire to sell them at Constantinople, pay twenty-four purses; the freight of all foreign merchant ships make up one hundred and eighty purses of gold; I have mentioned the value of each purse before; the great shambles without the city pay thirty-two purses; there serve in this place two hundred butchers, over whom there is a prefect or master, without whose consent no man can kill any beast, unless it be in the case of corban; nay, so great is the authority of this prefect, that the Jews themselves are forced to ask his leave to kill their beasts after their own fashion. The reason why the shambles are without the city, is for purity sake, lest the city be polluted with blood.

It is impossible to cast up the prodigious revenue which arises to the Grand Signior from the sale of Hungarian sheep and oxen in the 10th and 11th moons; but thou mayest comprehend that it is very great, when sometimes in one day's time there are sold 25,000 oxen, and 40,000 sheep.

Neither is it more easy to reckon up his incomes from the sale of houses, skiffs, galleys, faicks, and bigger vessels; besides, it would be too tedious for one letter. What shall I say of the tribute which the Jews and Christians pay, amounting yearly to a prodigious sum of money? Time, paper, ink, and human patience itself, would fail in rehearsing so many particularities.

But thou mayest frame a regular judgment of the immense riches which the Grand Signior is possessed of, when thou shalt know that there is a mint in the imperial city, where four hundred men perpetually labour in coining new money, having a president, or overseer, who supervises the work, who must be a Grecian, by a special privilege granted to that nation by our munificent emperors, because the mines of silver and gold are within the limits of the Grecian empire, so that none but Greeks are admitted to assist at this curious artifice.

The president is obliged every new moon to send in to the seraglio ten thousand sequins of gold, and twenty thousand in silver; for such is the pleasure of the great sultan, that the royal palace should always abound with fair new money.

Sage Musu, assure thyself that Constantinople is the grand treasury, exchequer, or bank of the whole earth, where all the riches of the East, West, North, and South, and of the seven climates, are refunded and laid up as in their proper centre: But I have more to say in another letter concerning this glorious city; only time just now gave me a prick with the end of his scythe, to put me in mind of an urgent affair, not to be neglected this moment; wherefore, in haste, adieu.

Paris, 1st of the 8th Moon, of the Year 1673.

END OF VOLUME SEVENTH.

Printed by Munnell & Son, 2  
Royal Bank Close, Edinburgh.



